DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 040 770 RC 004 315

AUTHOR	Photiadis, John D.
TITLE	Selected Social and Sociopsychological Characteristics of West Virginians in Their Own State and in Cleveland, Ohio.
INSTITUTION	West Virginia Univ., Morgantown. W. Va. Center for Appalachian Studies and Development.
SPONS AGENCY	Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.; Manpower Administration (DOL), Washington, D.C. Office of Manpower Research.
REPORT NO	RR-3
PUB DATE	70
NOTE	245p.
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$1.00 HC-$12.35
DESCRIPTORS	Age, Aspiration, Dropout Rate, Education, *Employment Statistics, Family Attitudes, Ghettos, Income, *Migration Patterns, Religious Factors, *Rural Urban Differences, Social Differences, Social Distribution, *Social Psychology, Socioeconomic Influences, Tables (Data), *Values
IDENTIFIERS	*Appalachia, Ohio, West Virginia

ABSTRACT

The characteristics of approximately 1700 West Virginia non-migrants, returned migrants, and West Virginians living in the Appalachian ghetto of Cleveland and suburbs of Cleveland are described. Data, collected through interviews and questionnaire, are presented in marginal form without statistical analysis because one of the main purposes of this report is to include responses to all individual questions and summary score distributions of the questionnaire so that firsthand information is available in a single document. Seventy-one tables are included, as well as an appendix indicating way-of-life preferences for each of the 4 groups. (LS)

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WEST VIRGINIANS IN THEIR OWN STATE AND IN CLEVELAND, OHIO

selected social and sociopsychological characteristics

john d. photiadis

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This report describes selected characteristics of West Virginia non-migrants, returned migrants, and West Virginians living in the Appalachian ghetto and suburbs of Cleveland. The data were collected through interviews and are presented in marginal form without any statistical analysis because one of the main purposes of this report is to include responses to all questions and summary score distributions so that first-hand information and analysis would be available in a single document.

A variety of resources was used to collect the data from the State of West Virginia and the so called Appalachian ghetto of Cleveland. However, during the interviews of West Virginians living in the ghetto area, it was ascertained that twice as many West Virginians at the time of the interview lived in the suburbs rather than in the ghetto. Thus, a grant was requested from the Department of Labor to expand the study into the suburbs. The grant was approved under the stipulation that part of the questionnaire of a related Cleveland study conducted by the Bureau of Social Sciences Research be included in our own Questionnaire. (The information from that questionnaire has been given to the B.S.S.R. as agreed).

Because funds for the present study were allocated by agencies with different interests, the questionnaires which were used for the various area studies were in certain respects different. The majority of the questions presented here, however, has been used for the entire population universe.

RC004315

The author expresses his appreciation to the Appalachian Center for support and to Dr. Ernest J. Nesius for initiating the study.

division of personal and family development

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SELECTED SOCIAL AND SOCIOPSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF WEST VIRGINIANS IN THEIR OWN STATE AND IN CLEVELAND, OHIO

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*Mrs. Mary Morris Cobbs and Mrs. Patricia Robb Stenger, Graduate Research Assistants, have helped with the tabulation of data, reviewing of literature, and editing.

MAP OF SUBURBAN TOWNS IN WEST SIDE
WHERE WEST VIRGINIANS CONGREGATE

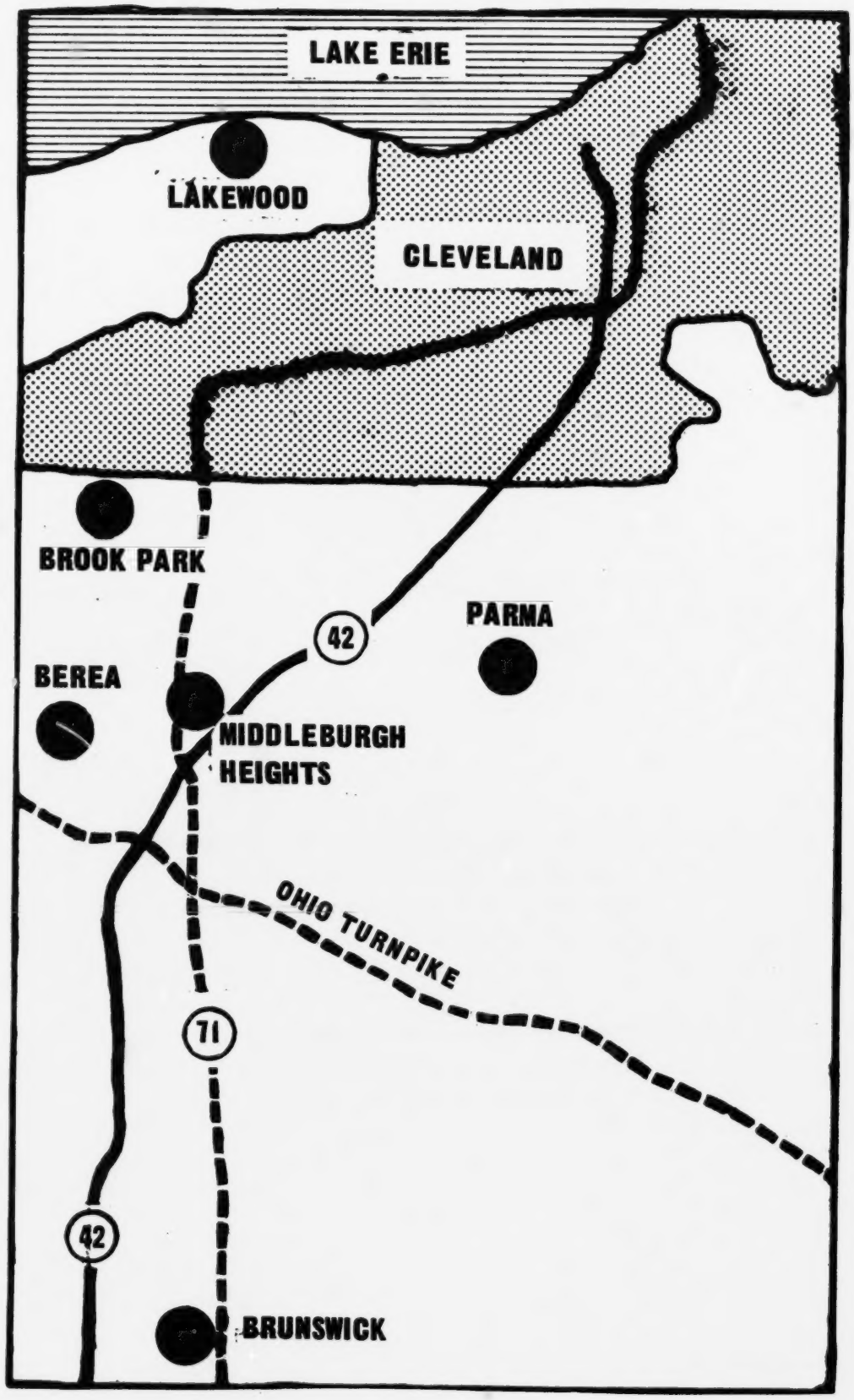

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page No.
Summary	1
Conclusion	18
Suggestions for Policy Making	22

BACKGROUND

PART I

1	Introduction	27
	The Changing Appalachian Society	28
	Appalachia and Mass Society	33
2	Migration	36
	Decision Making Process	40
	Adjustment After Migration	42
	Study of Appalachian Migration	44
3	The Research Design	47
	Sample	47
	Definitions and Variables	48

FINDINGS

PART II

1	Age, Education and Attitudes Toward Education	52
	Age	52
	Education and Attitude Toward Education	54
2	Family Composition	64
3	Income and Level of Living	69
	Annual Income and Weekly Wage	70
	Level of Living	76
4	Occupation and Employment	82
	Occupational Distribution	82
	Area of Migration and Length of Employment	86
	Unemployment and Assistance	95
5	Visiting and Settlement Patterns of West Virginians in Cleveland	101
	Visiting Patterns	102
	Settlement Patterns	108
	Patterns of Association	113

		Page No.
6	Attitudes Toward Progress and Achievement	115
	Attitudes Toward Progress	115
	Achievement Orientation	119
7	Value Orientations	125
	Value Orientation and Way of Life Preference	125
	Ranking of Way of Life Preferences	129
	Comparison of the Four Groups	141
8	Religious Beliefs and Participation	144
	Religious Beliefs	144
	Religious Affiliation and Participation	148
9	Identification and Reference Group Orientation Concerning the Appalachian Region and American Society	154
	Identification with the Appalachian Region and American Society	155
	Reference Groups	162
	Attitudes Toward Rural and Urban	165
	Reasons Why Migrants Return to West Virginia	168
	What Kinds of Wages Could Bring the Migrants Back to West Virginia	171
10	Job Satisfaction and Attitudes Toward Welfare	174
	Opinions as to Why Some Have Low Level of Living	174
	Job Expectations and Job Satisfaction	178
	Attitudes Toward Welfare	184
	Type of Government Which Should Have Responsibility with Action Programs	188
11	Perception of Social Position in Cleveland and West Virginia, and Life Satisfaction	190
	Change in Social Position	190
	Conditions Bothering West Virginians in Cleveland	193
	Life Satisfaction	197
	Suggestions for Newcomers in Cleveland	205
12	Alienation	207
	Bewilderment and Confusion	208
	Mistrust in Government Officials	217
	Religion and Primary Groups as a Buffer to the Outside World	221
	Perception of Physical Health	230

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary: This report is based on a comparative study of characteristics of four groups and its purpose is two fold: (1) to examine social and sociopsychological characteristics of West Virginians living in their own state and in Cleveland, Ohio: and (2) to test hypotheses dealing with migration and certain aspects of societal change in general. The more specific purpose of this report is to include the responses to all individual questions and summary score distributions of a questionnaire so that marginal information and analysis would be readily available for further elaboration in a single document. Empirically, the study is based on a cluster random sample drawn from the state of West Virginia and two samples of West Virginia migrants in Cleveland, one from the so called Appalachian ghetto of Cleveland and the other from the adjacent to that area suburban communities. Close to 1700 male respondents have been interviewed including close to 550 respondents from Cleveland.

In order to justify the nature of the proposed hypotheses and analysis, change in rural Appalachia and migration in particular are examined through a comparison of the past and present with emphasis on accelerated technological changes which have eliminated the isolation and in turn the semiautonomy of the rural community and thus helped its incorporation into the mass society. To fulfill the expectations of the new mass system, especially, expectations referring to the theme of the American culture which suggests higher income and level of living, a large number of West Virginians, mostly rural, have migrated to larger industrial centers where employment opportunities were available.

Some of the over 800,000 West Virginians who migrated came back to West Virginia. The majority, however, of the West Virginia migrants in Cleveland now live in the suburbs; others have settled in the ghetto either because they were relatively new in Cleveland or felt more comfortable there. Marginal distributions involving those West Virginians who never migrated, those returned to their own state, those who remained in the ghetto and those who have moved to the suburbs are used for comparison of these four groups. Furthermore, to control the influence of age and education, two factors known to be closely associated with migration, the four groups have, in addition, been matched in terms of these two variables.

As elsewhere, West Virginia migrants in Cleveland are younger than non-migrants and returned migrants. Furthermore, ghetto residents are much younger than migrants living in the suburbs; in the 21 to 30 years of age category there are 51 percent of ghetto residents and only 20 percent of suburbanites. Quite the opposite is true in the 31 to 40 age group where there are 52 percent of the suburbanites and only 25 percent of the ghetto residents. Returned migrants have the largest proportion of individuals, 26 percent, who are over sixty years of age. The corresponding proportion of this age group for ghetto and suburbs are 4 and 1 percent respectively.

Migrants in Cleveland also differ in terms of education with more people in the middle education categories (7 to 12 years). But again, suburbanites have higher proportions (47 percent) than ghetto residents (30 percent) of respondents who either finished high school or were close to it. In general, migrants in Cleveland have the lowest propor-

tion of individuals with less than 6 years of school and also the lowest proportion of individuals with over twelve years of education; however, compared to the suburbanites; ghetto residents, in general, have a higher proportion of respondents with lower than average education.

Less than 10 percent of the respondents in all four groups had formal technical training. But among those with three or more years of technical training the largest proportion is represented by the suburbanites. Further, possibly because they value skill more and have more technical training, suburbanites, in spite of their higher education, are found to have less favorable attitudes toward formal education than the other three groups.

Over ninety percent of the returned migrants and suburbanites are married. The corresponding proportion for ghetto is 84 percent. A little over 16 percent of returned migrants and ghetto residents live with parents and relatives; the corresponding proportion for suburbs and non-migrants is lower. In addition, there are close to three times as many two-family members in the two West Virginia groups as compared to the two groups in Cleveland. On the other hand, there are quite a few more five to six member families among the two Cleveland groups as compared to West Virginia. Suburbanites have predominently two to four children; the other groups are more dispersed. Further, ghetto and suburbs have about the same proportion of children who dropped out of school, about 10 percent. But the majority of the suburban children drop out of the seventh grade while the majority of the ghetto children drop before that age.

Excluding the over $14,000 income category, which usually includes

professionals and large property owners, Cleveland migrants and, in particular, suburbanites have considerably higher income than the state of West Virginia as a whole. Income differences become more pronounced when the four groups are matched in terms of age and education so that even in the over $14,000 income category there are proportionately more suburbanites than non-migrants. In the $9,000 to $14,000 income category there are about three times as many (25 percent) suburbanites as compared to the other three groups. In the $5,000 to $9,000 category there are 61, 50, 37 and 34 percent of suburbanites, ghetto residents, returned migrants and non-migrants respectively; for the less than $5,000 income category the corresponding proportions for these groups are 12, 27, 34 and 28 percent.

Besides income, suburbanites have the highest level of living, followed by non-migrants. Among suburbanites, non-migrants, returned migrants and ghetto the corresponding proportion of those who have color television are 32, 13, 6 and 12 percent, and of those who have wall to wall carpet these proportions are 61, 29, 22 and 20 percent. But by matching the four groups in terms of age and education, ghetto residents become second in level of living and the rank order of these groups changes as follows: suburbanites, ghetto residents, returned migrants and non-migrants.

Technical skill, probably more than any other variable, differentiates groups, particularly the three migrant groups. Returned migrants have the largest proportion of unskilled workers; ghetto, the largest proportion of semiskilled (two to three times as many as the other three groups); and suburbs, the largest proportion (about three times as

many as the other three groups), of skilled workers. Returned migrants as compared to the other two migrant groups have, by far, the largest proportion (11 percent) of professionals. The corresponding proportions for ghetto and suburbs are 0.7 and 4 percent respectively. In other words, professionals either tend to return to West Virginia or reside in areas other than those included in our population universe consisting of areas of high concentration of West Virginians. The latter is quite probable because informal interviews with migrants have indicated that suburban homes range in price from $12,000 to $18,000.

The predominant occupation before coming to Cleveland was coal mining (32 percent of the suburbanites and 25 percent of the ghetto residents). Only about 5 percent of the suburbanites and 4 percent of the ghetto residents had a skill before they left West Virginia as compared to the present proportions of skilled workers, 32 percent for suburbanites and 11 percent for ghetto residents. In other words, a large proportion of skills which suburbanites now possess has been acquired in the city.

In the case of returned migrants, less than a third of them held their first job less than six months, another third, 7 months to 3 years, and still another third more than three years. In general, about one third of the returned migrants have spent only less than a year outside Appalachia, another third 2 to 4 years, and only about 12 percent have spent more than ten years outside Appalachia. In addition, about 62 percent of the returned migrants have worked outside the state of West Virginia only once.

By comparison, more than half of the suburbanites have the same

job they had when they first came, while an additional about 38 percent held only two or three jobs. Matched in terms of education and age, there are twice as many suburbanites as ghetto residents who have kept the same job since they came to Cleveland; furthermore, close to 38 percent of the ghetto residents have moved to their present jobs in the last six months while only a little over 7 percent of the suburbanites have recently acquired jobs. About 45 percent of the suburbanites and 8 percent of the ghetto residents had their job 10 or more years. In other words, suburbanites either because they have acquired a skill or they possess certain personality attributes tend to be more stable in their jobs.

Suburbanites, inspite of the fact that altogether they have less job changes, have been in Cleveland much longer. About 24 percent of the ghetto migrants and only 2 percent of the suburbanites have been in Cleveland for less than a year. Still, a little more than half of the ghetto residents have been in Cleveland over 6 years and about a fourth over ten years; about sixty percent of the suburbanites have been in Cleveland more than ten years.

As compared to West Virginia, migrants in Cleveland have the lowest proportion of unemployed and retired; the corresponding proportion for returned migrants, non-migrants, ghetto and suburbs are: 27, 25, 9 and 2 percent respectively. About a third of the unemployed in the two West Virginia groups are retired, but there are very few retired people in the ghetto and in the suburbs in particular. Of those who are unemployed and not retired, about three-fourths in the three migrant groups receive some sort of assistance, but only one in ten are on welfare

excluding the suburbs which do not include welfare cases.

In the area of visitation and settlement patterns, close to 39 percent of the ghetto migrants and 22 percent of the suburbanites have never returned to West Virginia to resettle. The difference between the two groups becomes wider when the groups are matched in terms of age and education. Of those who have returned to West Virginia about 70 percent of ghetto respondents and 76 percent of the suburbanites have returned for semi-temporary settlement only once. Forty percent of the ghetto residents and 21 percent of the suburbanites when returned stayed less than six months while about a third of both groups stayed six months to a year.

About 9 percent of the ghetto residents and 7 percent of the suburbanites do not go back to West Virginia for visits and about a fourth of each group usually go only once a year. On the other hand, 11 percent of the former and 4 percent of the latter go back for a visit more than 10 times a year. Relatives from West Virginia also visit the migrants in Cleveland. Quantitatively speaking, more than a third of the ghetto residents and a seventh of the suburbanites do not have relatives visiting them; however, approximately a third of each group has relatives visiting them once a year and about a fourth of each group has relatives visiting two to three times each year. It can be noted here that these visiting patterns and semi-temporary settlements mentioned above afford rural West Virginians additional opportunities for contact and mutual exchange with the new urbanites.

In addition, about 71 percent of the ghetto residents and 36 percent of the suburbanites have at least half of their relatives in West Virginia,

but a considerable proportion of suburbanites--26 percent--have none. It is speculated that suburbanites who have resided longer in Cleveland and are better established have brought their relatives to the city.

About 50 percent of the suburbanites and 44 percent of the ghetto migrants have 1 to 5 fellow West Virginians living in a radius of 100 yards from them. However, about 30 percent of ghetto residents and 15 percent of the suburbanites do not even know if they have any West Virginians as neighbors. West Virginians in Cleveland, especially ghetto residents, also tend to associate with other West Virginians. In particular, sixty-eight percent of the ghetto residents and 50 percent of the suburbanites have a West Virginian as their best friend.

Nine different ways of life preferences, which could imply value orientations, have been used for comparison of the four groups. As shown in figure 5, which has been included in this summary, the profiles of the ranking of these 9 ways of life preferences indicate similar overall patterns; however, there are distinct differences among the four groups. In all four groups religious and family orientation are the two styles of life which have been checked most often, and although for the two West Virginia groups religion ranks first, for the two Cleveland groups family ranks first and religion second. Education ranks third for all groups but suburbanites who place work in third place. Work, in fact, is the fourth ranking way of life among non-migrants, but for the other three groups friendship is the fourth ranking way of life. Besides life in line with religion, family, education, work and friendship, which seem to be the most preferred styles, material comfort, recreation, achievement and outdoor living have also been used in this same comparison but

are preferred less by most of the respondents.

Comparison of the four groups in relation to religious beliefs and participation has shown that more than 90 percent of the respondents in three of the groups say they believe that there is a God who hears and answers prayers. The corresponding proportion is lower among suburbanites. Moreover, what differentiates suburbanites and ghetto residents most is belief that the world is soon coming to an end, which also indicates sectarian tendencies. Only 27 percent of the suburbanites strongly or moderately agree with this statement (the lowest percentage among the four) while nearly 48 percent of the ghetto (the highest percentage) agree similarly. Both in terms of this particular question and the summary scale score the most religious group appears to be the ghetto residents followed by returned migrants, non-migrants and suburbanites.

However, the extent of church participation does not follow the pattern that strength of belief does because church participation seems to be affected by time of settlement in the community. For instance, the proportion of those who participate frequently in church is for non-migrants, returned migrants, suburbs and ghetto 55, 40, 35, and 13 percent, respectively. In other words, among the ghetto residents, who are relative newcomers in the community, we have the highest proportion of strong believers among the four groups and the lowest of church participation. The opposite is true for non-migrants who have been in their communities for a long time and are more interested in the social rewards of participation than in the anxiety alleviating rewards of belief. The latter rewards, on the other hand, are probably needed more by the ghetto resident.

The two Cleveland groups include many more Baptists than the two West Virginia groups which in turn include many more Methodists. Scores indicate, in addition, that in all four groups more people (in numbers) who changed the type of their church, changed from non-sectarian to sectarian than otherwise; such difference is more pronounced in the two Cleveland groups. Furthermore, there are more sectarians among returned migrants than in any of the other three groups. It is quite possible that many of these people return because they value heaven more than real life and, thus, feel little pressure to achieve the level of living mass society expects.

Concerning preferences for the present as compared to life styles of earlier times, the majority of respondents from three groups, (excluding returned migrants) and particularly suburbanites, strongly or moderately agree that life is better now than it was in any previous period of time. Still, about one in three suburbanites (about one in five for the other three groups) strongly or moderately agree that with the exception of medical discoveries progress is actually making peoples' lives miserable. In general, suburbanites have lower summary scores in the scale which measures attitudes toward progress. Suburbanites also have lower summary scores in the scale which measures achievement orientation. For instance, 49 percent of the suburbanites feel that getting ahead is one of the most important things in life while the corresponding proportions for ghetto, returned migrants and suburbs are 65, 59, and 59 percent. In contrast, returned migrants who are supposed to be the least successful of the migrants indicate much more favorable attitudes than the most successful groups, the subur-

banites. A similar situation has been observed among West Virginia youth. As cited in the text, school dropouts have been found by this author to have higher achievement orientation scores than 4-H leaders. Also both suburbanites and potential 4-H leaders appear to be more fatalistic about the future than the groups they were compared with.

As for attitudes toward Appalachia and the American society, larger proportions of returned migrants, as compared to non-migrants, see Appalachia as the place where one can be happy without sufficient income. In contrast, a large majority of West Virginia residents would like to see the state more similar to the rest of the country in terms of education, income, and business-like attitudes, respectively. On the other hand, respondents were divided as to whether Appalachia should become like the rest of the country in terms of habits, customs, and attitudes toward life.

Along these same lines, reference groups were studied in the four groups. In terms of first choice for all four groups, the people one associates with is by far the most important reference group while the country as a whole appears to be second in importance. The latter seems to be a more important reference group for the three migrant groups as compared to non-migrants. But one's own community which, for all groups, is ranked as the third reference group seems to be more important for non-migrants and returned migrants than for the two Cleveland groups. (Community, however, seems to be more important for the suburbanites as compared to the ghetto).

Ghetto residents, then, do not use the ghetto community as a refer-

ence group and do not have as favorable attitudes toward urban people as the suburbanites do. For instance, 61 percent of the ghetto residents and only 47 percent of the suburbanites agree that "city people are often a bunch of wise guys."

Still, those migrants who have returned to West Virginia did not return because they did not like city life or its people but primarily because of the employment situation. The majority of the respondents by far come back either because they found a job in West Virginia or because they were laid off in the place where they were working. Ghetto residents are more interested in returning to West Virginia if a job is offered there than suburbanites. Still, 23 percent of the ghetto residents and 32 percent of the suburbanites are not interested in returning at all while 25 percent of the ghetto residents and 27 percent of the suburbanites would return only if they would make at least the wages they are presently making in Cleveland. However, 19 percent of the ghetto residents and 15 percent of the suburbanites would go back even if they only made 70 percent, or in some cases even less, of their present wages.

The two lower income migrant groups, returned migrants and ghetto residents, whose members are more keen about returning to West Virginia seem to have more favorable attitudes toward welfare than non-migrants. About 75 percent of the respondents from the three migrant groups (the proportion from the non-migrant group is lower) feel that social security, unemployment compensation and other such welfare services are a must in today's changing world. Still, however, about forty percent of these people feel that public relief hurts the American way of life.

A little less than a half of the migrants in Cleveland feel they have the same social status they had in West Virginia. Among the others there are more respondents who feel that they have lost more status than gained by coming to Cleveland. The difference is not striking; however, more ghetto residents feel they lost status than suburbanites. As for the nature of the social class distribution, both Cleveland groups tend to cluster more in the middle social class status categories than they did when indicating their social class position in West Virginia. About thirty-seven percent of the respondents in both groups felt that they had higher than middle social status in West Virginia and about 16 percent felt that they had lower than middle class status. But in Cleveland, suburbanites perceive themselves with much higher status than ghetto residents because close to 30 percent of the suburbanites feel that they have above average status, and only about 6 percent feel that they are below average while only 15 percent of the ghetto residents feel that they have higher than average status in Cleveland and 18 percent feel they have lower. Probably because of lower social expectations, ghetto residents are not bothered much more by loss of status than suburbanites; twenty-two percent of the former and 19 percent of the latter feel that loss of status bothers them either quite a bit or very much.

What seems to bother the Cleveland migrants more than anything else is adjustment to city life. Thirty-nine percent of both suburbanites and ghetto residents feel that the nature of city life bothers them either very much or quite a bit, but more ghetto residents, as compared to suburbanites (26 versus 13 percent) have checked the "very much" category. The next thing which seems to bother migrants quite strongly is absence

of old friends and relatives; in particular, fifty-six percent of the suburbanites and 50 percent of the ghetto residents indicated that lack of old friends and relatives bothered them. About a fourth of the respondents seem to be bothered quite a bit or very much because they were called names in Cleveland or because of the lower status Appalachians, in general, have in Cleveland. But only about one in ten mentioned that he was quite bothered because he had to adjust to a less desirable job.

Ghetto residents and returned migrants, which are the two lower income groups, are a little less satisfied with their economic positions than non-migrants and suburbanites. Moreover, as might be expected again, ghetto residents are the least satisfied than the other groups, especially in relation to suburbanites, with the type of life their community can offer. Similarly, suburbanites see more satisfaction, concerning style of life, in people around them than ghetto residents do. In addition, the two Cleveland groups are less satisfied than the other two groups with the type of life the Appalachian region can offer. Of the seven aspects of life, the kind of life the Appalachian region can offer draws the lowest satisfaction score for all four groups. On the other hand, the type of life their own family offers has received the highest satisfaction score for all four groups. About 90 percent of the respondents indicated that they are either satisfied or very satisfied with their family life. In the light of these data, migration can be seen as an outlet people use to fulfill societal expectations and, in turn, self-satisfaction; thus, those who feel happier in Cleveland remain there, others return to West Virginia and still others of the same age and education do not even attempt to migrate. Therefore, excluding only a few

situations, respondents from the four groups seem to be, on the basis of the seven different aspects of life examined here, similarly satisfied with life.

We have also examined the often used speculation that migrants are more alienated. At least concerning an aspect of alienation measured here, that of bewilderment and confusion as to what is going on in society today, our data show the opposite of the above speculation indicating that, as a whole, migrants seem to be less bewildered and confused than people in the state of West Virginia. Mistrust in government officials, which could be also considered as an aspect of alienation, differentiates the four groups only on the basis of income and education of their members which is a correlation already established in studies elsewhere. Thus, suburbanites first and non-migrants second mistrust government officials less than the other two groups. Ghetto residents seem to be the most mistrustful of all. For example, a little less than 60 percent of respondents in the ghetto and returned migrant groups strongly or moderately agree that "people who go into public office are usually out for all they can get".

Finally, our data show that feelings of bewilderment and confusion differentiate the four groups, in the same manner as variables measuring need to alleviate the anxiety such feelings tend to produce. Attachment to religion and primary groups as a means of alleviating anxieties, in contrast to studies elsewhere (indicating the needs migrants have to alleviate anxieties through attachment to religion and sectarianism in particular) seems to be more important for the two West Virginia groups. Returned migrants who tend to be the most sectarian of all groups also tend to place the most importance in religion as a means of alleviating anxieties as compared to all other groups. The opposite is

true for suburbanites. For instance, 50 percent of the returned migrants and only 30 percent of the suburbanites strongly or moderately agree that religion is what keeps them going. On the other hand, attachment to the family as a means of alleviating the anxieties modern society produces tends to be more important for suburbanites than the other group. But use of primary groups only, such as family, kin, friends, and neighbors does not seem to differentiate the four groups. In general, attachment to God or to family, or both are the two means which three out of four respondents of all groups agree are the most important to them in becoming able to cope with the new society.

Although in terms of alienation and the need for alleviating anxieties (which can be seen as aspects of mental health) there seems to be only some differences among the four groups; more differences are found, however, in terms of physical health. Migrants in both Cleveland groups feel much healthier than non-migrants or returned migrants. On the other hand, returned migrants who seem to have the poorest health of all groups are shown to be healthier when the groups are matched in terms of age and education. It is probable that for a number of returned migrants poor health is associated with older age which tends to be more characteristic of this group.

Let us now see whether the Cleveland migrants would be interested in coming back to West Virginia now or when they retire. The majority would come back only if they had between 80 and 100 percent of the income they have now. More people, however, predominantly from the ghetto, would like to come to West Virginia when they retire.

Conclusion: Data presented here support the proposition set forth in the beginning of this report suggesting that in order to satisfy societal expectations in terms of income and level of living, people often, regardless of fitness, move to the city where emplementation of such expectations is possible. At least in Cleveland, people initially move to the ghetto. As they secure new skills, both in terms of occupation and understanding of the urban culture, a considerable number move to the suburbs.

Suburbanites who are physically healthier, slightly older, more educated and skilled, and value family life more than those who remain in the ghetto, see society as more orderly and feel more part of it than people in the other three groups. In fact, suburbanites not only identify themselves psychologically with the larger society, but they tend, also, to behave and possess attributes such as level of living, income, church participation, and attitudes toward urbanites and toward certain social issues, which fit the urban middle class stereotype (lower middle class in particular). In other words, this group has entered the larger society with relatively full credentials.

Those who remain in the ghetto seem to be in a number of ways different from those in the suburbs but also different from those (at least of similar age and education) back home. They tend to be younger, predominantly semi-skilled, are often newer in Cleveland and less stable in holding a job than suburbanites are. They have relatively high income but low level of living. Moreover, they value material comfort and recreation less than the other groups and family life more than the West Virginia groups. In addition, they have stronger religious

beliefs than the other three groups but participate less in church. In fact, they do not feel part of the community in Cleveland and do not use it as a reference group. Similarly, although they have considerable contacts and proportions of their relatives left in West Virginia they do not like the Appalachian style of life as much as the two West Virginia groups do. But the ghetto residents' orientation is neither toward West Virginia nor their community as much as the other groups but in certain respects toward the larger society. These people in contrast to suburbanites and non-migrants do not feel as much a part of the community and do not participate in church. Probably because orientation toward the larger society does not relieve anxiety as much as community and church, ghetto residents have more of a need than the other groups to become attached to something; thus, they may tend to be a little stronger believers although not as sectarian in faith as returned migrants.

Different attributes characterize those who cannot take city life but have to return to Appalachia. These people tend to be older, unskilled and have lower income and level of living than members of the other three groups. Although returned migrants rate achievement higher than the other groups, they primarily prefer a life in line with religion and, thus, tend to be more sectarian. Still, among returned migrants there is a considerable number of professionals (ten percent of the present sample) and a number of skilled workers who probably have attributes different from the rest of the sample of returned migrants.

In general, the two groups in Cleveland have higher income, are healthier physically, have more technical skills, like Appalachian life

less, are more oriented toward the larger society and, in spite of the commonly held beliefs about alienation of migrants, these people feel more part of society than the groups in West Virginia. It should be added here, however, that the opposite might be true for places other than Appalachia where better employment opportunities and, in turn, less social disorganization exist. As compared to those in West Virginia the migrants prefer family life more than life in line with religion and, in fact, need family life more than religious life in order to alleviate anxieties societal changes produce.

In spite of considerable differences in income, health, style of life, opportunities, expectations, and value orientations there are no differences in overall satisfaction with life among the four groups. Differences in satisfaction exist but only concerning more particular aspects of life. For instance, the two low income groups (ghetto and returned migrants) are a little less satisfied with their income than the other groups; suburbanites are a little more satisfied with their family life; and ghetto residents are a little less satisfied with their community life. It should be emphasized here that migration on this basis could be seen not as an undesirable phenomenon but as an equilibrating process or as an outlet people use to fulfill societal expectations and in turn self-satisfaction; thus, after they are mobilized by societal pressures those who feel happier in Cleveland remain there and depending on their readiness and, in turn, expectations stay in the ghetto or move to the suburbs. Others with different potential for adjustment and expectations return to West Virginia, and still others of similar age and education do not migrate at all. In

more general terms, then, migration could, in this light,be seen from the point of view of adjustment to the new society as a vital process aiming at re-establishing the equilibrium between the individual and his sociocultural environment which modern technological changes tend to upset.

Suggestions for Policy Making*: If migration serves as an equilibrating process in helping people fulfill expectations which the new mass media and contacts create, it would be unwise to attempt to keep the rural Appalachian in the hollow or in a community which does not offer opportunities to satisfy the societal expectations which are pressuring him. The alternative in this case would be to either offer opportunities to these people in their own communities and their own environment or prepare them for migration, particularly those who have difficulty adjusting to city life and work. For instance, excluding professionals, older retired people and some skilled workers who returned because they found satisfactory employment back home, one could find among the returned migrants a core group with specific characteristics who are the type of people programs of directed change should try to help. At least initially, these people had the necessary motivation to undergo certain difficulties in order to raise their level of living to meet societal expectations, but if they had been prepared before they left, they might have adjusted to city life.

Migration, at least as far as the framework we are dealing with here indicates, is not an undesirable process, but to the contrary. What is necessary, however, is that the process be understood by policy makers, and in the light of its nature individuals involved should be helped. For instance, less education and skill as these data show do not appear to be the only criteria which determine failure in the city because suburbanites

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*This part is written at the request of Howard Rosen, director of Manpower Research, of the "Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation and Research", of the Department of Labor and it is not intended as a criticism of the policies of any particular agency.

who do well often possess these attributes. The preparation of potential migrants, therefore, should not only be conducted in terms of acquiring technical skill and formal education but also in terms of the needs of the individual's internal world. In other words, it is often necessary, at least for certain individuals, in addition to considering their physical health, before or during their technical training to be given a cultural or psychological preparation depending on their needs. The extent of such preparation could on a more rational basis be determined by the extent of support in terms of dollars these people will need in order to exist when they return home.

Returned migrants with such needs are probably quite different from non-migrants, for instance, of the same age and education who are under some sort of assistance program. Because besides physical, mental or psychological shortcomings some non-migrants turn to welfare because they have been socialized in families who see welfare as a way of life. For these people, also, training for skill and education should be examined in the light of their internal world and, in turn, motivation. Considering the cost of their support at the present or in the future, in case they quit their jobs, cultural or psychological preparation may be justifiable before training under these conditions.

Looking at migration in the light of the theoretical framework which we used to explain its causes, it becomes apparent that dislocations of people will continue in the future and probably increase. Technology, in general, as it is predicted by experts, will continue changing at an accelerated rate and along with it the occupational social and psychological dislocations of people. At the present it appears that of all institutions of society, the government is the major institution which has the power, flexibility, and above all responsibility to help dislocated parts of

society. Appropriate government agencies, therefore, should plan for the future with the understanding that rapid technological changes will continue, under one form or another, dislocating people occupationally, socially and psychologically. During the early years of the great migration (forties and early fifties), millions of Appalachian migrants in the ghettos of the industrial cities went through a series of discomforts and ridicule without any serious attempt by any agency to help them. There was no agency of any magnitude as such authorized to help in this mass transition. It would, therefore, be unwise to blame any single agency for those responsibilities which do not fall into the jursidiction of any particular agency. Due to the speed of change, government or related agencies often have difficulties adjusting themselves even to those changes which directly fall into the area of their responsibility. Regardless of responsibilities, as indicated in the earlier part of this report, older migrants in Cleveland complained that no one tried to help by telling them not to bring their families with them when they first came, to have some cash with them, to go to such and such agencies to ask for employment, and after they secure a job to rent a suitable home to bring their families from Appalachia.

A simple elementary survey conducted among the first migrants would have easily elicited this information. Back in Appalachia the Extension service, an agency with potential to help with preparation for migration, at that time concentrated primarily on changing people and raising their level of living so that they would fit the socially expected image. The out-going migrant did not seem to fit into programs with aims such as these. In Cleveland, on the other hand, there were employment agencies, but they

were not geared to serving people with the characteristics of the early migrants from Appalachia. Many migrants, in fact, were not aware of the existance of such agencies, but lack of understanding of the urban culture was as much of a need as need for employment. Today, however, the stem family which has some of its members entrenched in the city usually plays the helping role. In other words, at that time (and even today) there was no agency geared toward helping with dislocations of this nature. On the other hand, executives in the Department of Labor, federal extension service, the Department of the Interior or the Department of Health, Education and Welfare were not aware of the reasons why people migrate and that out-migration would continue until some sort of equilibrium was established.

Even today policy makers for a variety of reasons do not sufficiently utilize knowledge of overall societal processes in planning programs and setting up policies. Unemployment conpensation, retraining programs and aspects of welfare practices are some societal responses to the need for helping with dislocations. Still such services, as has been shown with the case of the Appalachian migrants and numerous other groups, are not sufficient today and probably, due to the possible increased speed of dislocation they will be less sufficient in the future; technology and, in turn, society change too fast to permit agencies to institutionalize procedures and ways of helping with dislocations on a continuous basis.

What, at least from the theoretical point of view, would be desirable is an agency or organization whose purpose would be the coordination of activities aiming at helping the adjustment of dislocated groups in the light of the conditions which have led to the dislocation of the particular group. This would, in turn, imply a need for a more or less realistic

approach to the problem of adjustment of the dislocated group(s). In the case of the Appalachian migrant, for instance, considering the causes of migration which we have analyzed in the previous pages, it becomes apparent that assistance for at least some of the migrants (such as those returned migrants we mentioned above) would involve preparation before they leave Appalachia, assistance when they arrive in the city and assistance while they are on the job. The latter could involve besides technical training, support of a sociocultural nature. A similar discussion could be carried out in relation to the adjustment of people of lower socioeconomic strata in the city who are also under pressure to meet societal expectation they are not fully prepared to face.

By the nature and diversity of the required assistance for the various groups, it becomes apparent that the coordinating agency we proposed above could be, at least at the management level, highly sophisticated, flexible, and possibly linked in some way with higher institution of learning and research. Since this proposition is based on the experiences of a single case study, the Appalachian migration case, it may be unrealistic to present the above propositions. However, from the theoretical point of view, if one assumes that dislocations will continue at an accelerated rate, the proposed type of agency or organization or task force sounds more realistic. Appalachian migration as such, therefore, should not be seen as something undesirable because, at least as our data and the theoretical framework we use here indicate, for today's society it is very rewarding for most people and very functional as a societal process.

PART I

BACKGROUND

Introduction

When one considers that today over one-third of West Virginians live outside their own State,[1] it becomes apparent that a comparative study of West Virginia migrants and West Virginia residents may not only offer a more complete picture of characteristics of West Virginians, but also provide clues as to the process of migration and societal change in general. The material in this report is analyzed on the basis of four groups: (1) West Virginians who never migrated, (2) migrants who returned to West Virginia, (3) West Virginians living in the Appalachian ghetto of Cleveland, Ohio, and (4) West Virginians living in the suburbs of Cleveland, Ohio. This report specifically includes marginals from a questionnaire used for a study whose purpose is two fold: (1) to examine the social and sociopsychological characteristics of each of the above four groups and (2) to test when possible hypotheses dealing with migration and modern societal change in general. The more specific purpose of this report is to include the responses to all individual questions of a questionnaire and summary scale score distributions so that all marginal information and a first hand analysis would be readily available for further elaboration.

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[1] Leonard M. Sizer, Population Change in West Virginia, West Virginia University Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 563, (May, 1968).

Empirically, the study is based on a cluster random sample of respondents from the State of West Virginia and two samples of West Virginia migrants in Cleveland. The design of the study is such that in most cases the same dimensions are measured in each sample. In general, the dimensions covered include the following areas: (1) way of life preferences which are indicators of value orientations, (2) attitudes toward issues such as education, welfare, progress, and achievement, (3) life satisfaction, (4) reference groups involving local groups and society in general, (5) aspects of alienation such as bewilderment and confusion, mistrust in government officials, (6) need for primary groups and religion as buffers to the outside world, (7) religious beliefs and participation, (8) perception of migrants' social status in West Virginia and Cleveland, (9) aspects which West Virginians like and dislike in Cleveland, (10) future plans, (11) suggestions for new migrants, (12) friendship and residence proximity among West Virginians and other Appalachians living in Cleveland, and (13) general attributes such as income, level of living, education and health.

The study of Appalachia, Appalachian migration, and migration in general would be of little value without knowledge and understanding of the determinants of the changes which are taking place in modern Appalachia. To secure such understanding we will examine briefly the past and present of Appalachia and some of the forces instrumental in bringing about change. This discussion will be followed by a discussion on migration in general and Appalachian migration in particular before the empirical data are presented.

The Changing Appalachian Society. In order to measure the extent of modern change in Appalachia, one should compare the Appalachia idealized

by writers of a few decades ago as a haven of contentment and serenity and a stronghold for the values of localism and familism, with the present Appalachian society which remains, particularly in the rural areas, under severe pressure to change and which has at least more than a third of its population in the pursuit of a new, more satisfying life elsewhere. What has created this turmoil? What are the social forces behind it? These are some of the questions which this part of the report will try to answer beginning with a brief description of the early Appalachian society.

Many of the value systems which can be considered characteristic of the early Appalachian society could undoubtedly, in one form or another, be found in other segments of the American society.[2] Sectarianism, for instance, could be found in the Ozarks and also among the lower socioeconomic strata of the city; on the other hand, belief in life in harmony with nature could be encountered to a larger extent among Indians. The crucial factors considered to be responsible for differentiating Appalachia from other cultures or, more generally, responsible for differentiating between any cultures are the following:

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[2] For a popular description of the early Southern Appalachian society written by an insider see Harry M. Caudill, Night Comes to the Cumberlands, (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1963). For specific information on the value orientation of Southern Appalachians see Thomas R. Ford, "Value Orientations of a Culture of Poverty: The Southern Appalachian Case." This paper was presented at the American Home Economics Association Workshop on Working with Low-Income Families, 1965. For information on Southern Appalachian values supported with empirical data see Thomas R. Ford, editor, "The Passing of Provincialism" in The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1962), pp. 9-34. Also see W. D. Weatherford and Earl D. C. Brewer, Life and Religion in Southern Appalachia, (New York: Friendship Press, 1962); Jack E. Weller, Yesterday's People, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965).

(1) variations within a particular type of value system, (2) a combination of certain particular value systems, or (3) the particular ranking of value systems in terms of importance. These three factors, then, are considered to be the most crucial in differentiating the Appalachian value system from the value system of other cultures.

Due to the physical make-up, isolation, and homogeneity of its population, the southern Appalachian region has functioned, at least in the past, as a semiautonomous social system. The system has retained or modified, independently of the larger American society, a particular set of beliefs on which its ideology and value orientations rest. This belief system and, in turn, ideology formation has been strongly influenced by the following: (1) the beliefs and value orientations of the early settlers and (2) the type of interaction patterns initiated by the physical make-up of the region.

Even when a comparatively simple culture is surrounded by a more complex culture in some ways physically separated as in the case of Appalachia, a restriction of interaction can lead to the emphasis of some values and deemphasis of others. The Appalachian emphasis on fundamentalism and negative attitudes toward achievement can be considered by-products of this restricted interaction. Particularistic attitudes such as mistrust in government officials, fatalistic views concerning occupational success and formal education were, therefore, produced by the closeness of the system.

In addition, this closeness of system influenced more temporal consequences of interaction such as reference groups and social control. For instance, in relation to the money one made or his level of living, the Appalachian did not compare himself with those outside the region

but primarily those within the community. Furthermore, because the means of change to alter conditions was very limited (limited land and limited means for acquiring skills), Appalachians came to accept without much question the existing social prestige structure status quo. Often, there was, for example, a significant difference between a more or less organized farmer who owned certain acreage of good bottom land and someone with a few acres on the side of the mountain who was often seen, because of his limited means and lower moral standards as very inferior.[3]

How much the nature of the personality of the early settlers, population homogeneity, the physical make-up of the region, and the presence of a more complex culture surrounding it have contributed to making Appalachia different in beliefs and, in turn, values from the outside, including rural people elsewhere, is difficult to ascertain. Still the fact that some values such as traditionalism, provincialism, and familism which are common among rural people elsewhere suggests that constants determining the nature of rural societies have had a measurable influence in Appalachia. As in other rural areas, the family and religion have acted as buffers to frustrations produced by the unknown and the pressures of modern society, but religion, in particular, in Appalachia is different from religion in other rural areas because it is more sectarian in nature. The community, too, which is important in other parts of the country, is less important in Appalachia.

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[3] Informants from some of the southeastern counties of West Virginia indicated that the term "trash" was used by more or less established farmers to describe those living on the hillsides.

Significant cultural differences, as pointed out by J. Brown,[4] exist also within Appalachia. Typical examples in this case would be differences between northern and southern rural Appalachia and mining and non-mining or predominantly agricultural communities. Many of the distinct early Appalachian cultural attributes were particularly pronounced in early agricultural communities in Southern Appalachia. Such communities, in turn, due to the nature of farming in Appalachia--limited acreage without surrounding space for expansion--and the more typical and distinct cultural traits of the region have recently gone through a more turbulent process of transition (out-migration as one aspect) than the rest of the region.

However, the above discussion can be summarized, in general, by stating that values such as individualism, traditionalism, fatalism, religious fundamentalism, and life in harmony with nature have occupied a higher rank in the hierarchy of the value orientation of the rural Appalachians as compared to the orientation of those in urban centers and those outside the region. The opposite has been true as will be demonstrated later, for values such as achievement and materialism which rank higher among persons outside the rural segment of the region. It can be further concluded that these hierarchies have been strongly influenced by the following: (1) the beliefs and value orientations of the early settlers, and (2) the type of interaction patterns initiated by the physical make-up of the region.

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[4] James Brown, "Population and Migration Changes in Appalachia, in Social Change in Appalachia" (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, ed. John D. Photiadis and Harry R. Schwarzweller, in print.)

Appalachia and Mass Society. The preceding discussion has been concerned with the nature of the Appalachian rural social system of the past, More recently, however, a number of cultural changes have affected the isolation of the region, and, in turn, the relationship between the region and the larger American society. Among the most important changes of this nature occurring in the last few decades have been the rapid improvements in means of mass communication and transportation, the availability of employment opportunities in urban centers,[5] and the changes in formal education. It is not that changes of this nature did not take place previously but simply that more recent changes in these areas have occurred at an accelerated rate. Through mass media, primarily television, people in the rural areas, in particular, have become increasingly aware of the style of life and value orientation of the larger society. Improved transportation has brought them into closer contact and interaction with the outside. Migration to urban centers where employment is available has also produced interaction and communication with the outside; some migrants frequently return to their home in Southern Appalachia while relatives visit those who remain in the urban setting.[6]

From the theoretical point of view communication and interaction

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[5] Along with the availability of employment opportunities in urban centers we could mention the decline of the coal mining industry. Decline of subsistance farms is not treated as a reason of decreasing isolation, but as a consequence of the incorporation of the region into the larger American society, which is in turn responsible for the dissatisfaction with farm income. The same could be said about migration which, although influences isolation (people return, relatives visit them), is also a consequence of the change in isolation which indirectly produces dissatisfaction with local wages.

[6] Information on the extent of these visits is given in a later part of this report.

with the outside constitute two processes crucial in the building of new social systems. Through increased communication with the outside, members of the Appalachian society became increasingly aware of the mass society culture, of its social structure, and of the value orientation on which culture and social structure are built. In particular, rural Appalachians became more cognizant of the level of living and the incomes of the more visible urban middle class, and of the importance this class places on the achievement of these standards. Furthermore, this increased awareness coupled with increased interaction with the outside facilitates the development of a single larger societal system which tends to incorporate rural communities and neighborhoods.

In general, the integration of the regional social system into the larger society does not occur at a uniform rate, but is positively related, among other dimensions, to its degree of urbanism and level of social class. As will be indicated later in the study, these differences in the rate of integration of various parts of the social system serve as mechanisms facilitating the integration of slowly changing parts of the system. What is more crucial in this case, however, is that differences in rates of integration not only refer to differences among parts of the social system, but also to differences in integration among the social system, the cultural system, and the personality system.

Certain aspects of the local culture and of the personality of rural people in the region are in the process of changing and becoming integrated into the larger American culture faster than others. This differential rate of change not only refers to each of these societal systems, but also to the relationship among them. More specifically, it appears that cultural integration, at least in certain important dimensions, is faster

than the integration of the social system and probably much faster than the integration of certain aspects of the personality system. The latter form of integration refers to the development of personalities compatible with the larger society and with changes taking place within the regional, social and cultural systems. For instance, systematic linkage referring to certain cultural items such as automobiles, television, or to the cultural value of economic success is faster than systematic linkage referring to social dimensions.

An often discussed example of lag of this nature is the disjunction between the acceptance by lower classes of the cultural goal of socio-economic success, in particular, and the lack of institutionally legitimate social means for attaining this goal.[7] However, what is happening to the lower classes elsewhere is happening to rural Southern Appalachia to a larger extent. Although rural Appalachians are taught the value of success by the same mass media as are lower classes elsewhere, they have even less opportunity for implementing this value.

A considerable number of those who cannot implement this achievement motive migrate primarily to urban centers outside Appalachia, such as Cleveland, where employment is available. In other words, migration can be seen as a sort of equilibrating process helping individuals to respond to societal demands for certain levels of economic achievement. Such achievement constitutes a main axis around which society and its individuals become reorganized. The crucial point in this case, of course, is that because of its intensity, the desire for higher economic achievement and level of living ignores other predispositions of the personality and social

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[7] For a relevant discussion see John D. Photiadis, Changes in the Rural Southern Appalachian Community, Office of Research and Development, Appalachian Center, West Virginia University, Research Series 7, (1968).

system which are not fulfilled and obviously create tensions. In this sense not all migrants in Cleveland have the majority of their motivations satisfied during their stay in Cleveland. Conflict in other areas, such as adjustment to the speed of technological change may also affect various aspects of the individual's way of life. Then, too, tension could exist in a similar manner among those who either did not migrate or could not meet the demands of the city and retreated to Appalachia. The empirical data presented in the following pages offer among other information some indications of the presence of such tensions and the mechanisms used to alleviate them. But before we discuss our empirical data, we will say a few things about migration in general and Appalachian migration in particular.

Migration

Migration involves simply a more or less permanent change in residence, a movement from a donor community to a receiving community. Migration in a social sense involves a transfer of loyalty, a change in identity and a disruption in social ties and commitments.[8] If we are to identify and predict those who would change their permanent residence, it is necessary to understand and classify those factors motivating persons to migrate. Peterson has broken down this motivation to migrate into two categories: innovating migration which is a means of achieving the new and conservative migration which is a response to a change in conditions by trying to retain what one has had. Further differentiation by Peterson includes primitive migration or a reaction to a deterioration in physical environment,

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[8] Ronald Klietsch, Social Reponse to Population Change and Migration, Agriculture and Home Economics Experiment Station, Iowa State University, Special Report No. 40 (September, 1964), p. 38.

impelling and forced migration or a reaction to a change in a social institution, free migration or an action of higher aspirations for self and mass migration or a response to a collective behavior and social momentum already in effect.[9]

In sum, it can stated that most types of migration are theory based on the concept of response to changing conditions or reaction to individual's environment whether it be impersonal forces or immediate group membership. Even free migration is a result of comparing self to others or the social environment and placing self in a hierarchy of others. Self-concept, in fact, rests on the feedback of others and the self's consequent perception of relative position in the social environment.

In general, theories of migration have in the past rested on the traditional demographic and sociographic variables such as age, sex, distance traveled, race or ethnic origin, education, occupation and income. Recently, however, there has been a growing interest in such socio-psychological and social dimensions as aspiration, motivation, community identification, and institutional influence. It is the latter area which draws theoretical roots from Thomas and Zaniechi's Polish Peasant in Europe and America (1927) as cited J. J. Mangalam in Human Migration.[10] They stated that the best method for studying migration is to investigate how the values of the migrants act upon their preexisting attitudes. A second point made was that in order to understand migrants in terms of both areas

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[9]William Peterson, Population, New York: Mac Millan Company, 1961, pp. 607, 609-618.

[10]J. J. Mangalam, Human Migration: A Guide to Migration Literature in English, 1955-1962, Lexington: University of Lexington Press, 1968, pp. 2-3.

of origin and destination, it is necessary to study the conditions and characteristics of the social organizations in which the migrants are involved.

Migration is, it seems, a system formed according to environmental demands. It is an equilibrium process helping all segments of society to acquire the means for attaining objectives set by mass society.[11] In other words, through feedback of population factors such as birth and mortality rates, social and political conditions, and particularly economic opportunities, migration rates fluctuate accordingly in subcommunities to and from population concentration centers. Moreover, migration may be thought as a sort of safety valve preventing discontent and providing a way out of situations incompatible with one's goals and values. All sociopsychological factors of individual and group migration must be seen in the context of this equilibrating system.

The decision to migrate, then, is a collective phenomenon influenced by changing environmental factors acting upon an individual's existing value systems or ways of living. This kind of approach does not limit the thesis to a push-pull ecological dichotomy but adds the individual with his past socialized values and ways of life in the position of decision-maker reacting to the conditions of his society.

This approach, then, emphasizes the interactional process involved in migration decision-making. As in Peterson's classification of migration motivation presented earlier, the decision to migrate is seen as a response to an individual's environment, but these factors influence individuals

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[11] John D. Photiadis, "Correlaries of Migration," Sociological Quarterly, VI (1965) , p. 347.

differently according to each individual's value systems and way of life. Therefore, it follows logically that groups of people holding basically the same value orientations, as a result of group interaction, and faced with approximately the same environmental influences tend to make the same kinds of decisions to migrate or not. These decisions collectively reoccur again and again in the community. Hopefully, then, it would also be true that by holding environmental factors constant and then identifying certain value orientations of a group of people, one could predict and differentiate those who would migrate and those who would not, those who migrate and return, those who never adjust and assimilate, and those who achieve their goals and those who do not.

To reconcile the above statements with J. J. Mangalam's belief that migration represents goal-directed behavior,[12] the system of migration must be examined more closely. To Mangalam an actor pursues a goal in which migration represents a means of achieving the goal, and the place of origin represents a blocking or providing of channels to goal-directed behavior.

Society sets goals according to collective needs. Now through increased communication isolated subgroups, such as Appalachia, are exposed to goals that are conducive to life satisfaction in society in general. Individuals may form new values to be congruent with the enforced goals, or attempt to synthesize their value hierarchy with the value system required for new goals, or reject new goals and retain values congruent to subgroups goals. The changing environmental factors, then, set goals which may or may not be congruent with the value systems of subgroups. Individuals react to society's goals according to their collective value

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[12] Mangalam, op. cit., p. 14.

systems or ways of living.

Decision-Making Process. The individual's decision-making power is described as a process during which the individual evaluates the need to migrate with reference to the opportunities and satisfactions available in a home community against the possible opportunities and rewards to be gained through migration--a process requiring that an individual formulate notions of personal aspirations, commitments to home community, a sense of social cost accruing from migration or remaining in the home community, and a feeling of social satisfaction with the present and future. "Regardless of the degree to which the individual's decision-making becomes explicit, each decision in migration is motivated by the aim of reserving a sense of personal deprivation. That is, the individual looks elsewhere to pursue some goal or to meet some aspiration that he cannot secure in his home community. Thus, migration may involve a strategy that optimizes a present relative sense of satisfaction."[13]

This feeling of personal satisfaction or deprivation operates in the context of differential perception due to various value orientations of a person or group. An individual then assesses his particular position according to life circumstances of advantages and limitations exemplified in Olson's mobility model including job knowledge, special job skills, capital investment, community attachment and personal characteristics as age, income, social status, and education.[14] The importance here is not his particular circumstance, but the individual's perception of his life

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[13] Klietsch, op. cit., p. 39.

[14] Philip G. Olson, Job Mobility and Migration, Purdue University Agriculture Experiment Station, Research Bulletin No. 708, (November, 1960), p. 7.

circumstance which is distorted by his particular value orientations. This again must be put in the context of the migration system functioning in accordance to society's definition of the needs of subcommunities and population centers.

The theoretical framework which we presented in the introduction of this paper implies that migration, at least the kind Peterson calls mass migration, is a reaction to relative deprivation. Mangalam simplifies the idea of relative deprivation with the following statement, "When minimum needs are not met with the existing conditions in a society or a sector of it, certain members entertain the thought of moving out of it and going to another society altogether or to a different sector of the same society where they perceive the existence of conditions more adequate to a satisfactory meeting of their unmet needs or relative deprivations."[15] Relative deprivation, therefore, depends on the value hierarchies of individuals, and, importantly, on a particular social organization's blocking of the means available to the collectivity to meet these deprivations. The amount of resources, then, and the means or ability to manipulate these resources are both determinants in the decision-making process.

An interesting report by J. A. Abramson studied the decision process of rural migrants moving to urban centers.[16] He stated that the expectations of the migrants concerning their post migration prospects had not been realistic; less than half had specific job prospects when they left the farm. Migration, consequently, had represented a decision of grave

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[15] Mangalam, op. cit., p. 9.

[16] J. A. Abramson, Rural to Urban Adjustment, Department of Forestry and Rural Development, Canada, Research Report No. 82-6 (1968), pp. 11-118.

consequence involving high risk, and the step was often taken in a family atmosphere of intense stress and uncertainty. Forty percent had expected to do no better in the city than to subsist, and of these, many expected that even subsistence would require the utmost effort and willingness to undertake any kind of job or combination of jobs that could be found. The decision process preceding migration usually extended over a considerable period of years and was frequently highly controversial. From two to ten years of consideration and reconsideration were reported by about two-thirds of the respondents.

Adjustment After Migration. In adjustment an individual's decision to migrate is followed by an immediate or slow severance of community ties, a change in identities, a loss of loyalty and a relocation. It required two active processes: reintegration and community identification.[17]

This reintegration and new identification require a modification of one's value system or way of life preferences to the values of the receiving area. Accordingly, the rate of adjustment depends on how congruent the migrant's value system is with the receiving area's system because the more incongruent the values, the more modification necessary. The rate of adjustment can also depend on the individual's perception of his position of power in relation both to the receiving area and former residence area before he can reintegrate and identify in a new community system. This perception is influenced by value orientations--by what the person considers important and by what he hopes to attain preceding migration which make the rewards for integration relevant and worthwhile for a particular migrant.

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[17] Kiistech, op. cit., p. 40.

In studies made of rural migrants' adjustment to urban surroundings the difficulty of incongruent value system modification can be seen. The findings of Abramson's study is also relevant here.[18] After migration the process of adjustment extends over a considerable period as the migrant strives to make the changes in himself. Abramson found that an early period of euphoria related to success in changing his physical location and orienting to the city is often followed by a period of extended strain. Then, too, two years might pass before a family has achieved sufficient economic security to support other types of positive adjustment.

Difficulties in adjustment to city employment and occupations were by far the most common type of problem reported by his subjects; problems related to social integration were reported by nearly four out of five respondents. Unfavorable reactions to the greater density of population and difficulties related to the shift from rural to urban patterns of social interaction were among the most common. Family problems, too, frequently occurred related to factors like shifts in work and parental roles, break-up of the family as a working unit, and value conflicts between parents and children.

Schwarzweller, more narrowly, has pointed out that the most abrupt immediate change that occurred for the rural migrant moving into a population center has been the distinct separation of occupational activities from family activities. Adaptation to the industrial occupational role required acceptance of new standards in an isolated area of behavior (work)

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[18] Abramson, op. cit., pp. 111, 119.

with little effect upon other areas of life.[19]

Study of Appalachian Migration. Appalachian migrants face a particularly difficult time in adjustment because their value orientations are incongruent with the value orientations of urbanites. An interesting statement by Harry Ernst of the Charleston Gazette pointed out that almost all the demands made on Appalachians to fit into city life require them to sell out their own values.[20] Kinship, the value orientation cited repeatedly in the recent migration studies as the backward orientation of Appalachian migrants, is said to prevent their assimilation into a new system.

Schwarzweller, Brown, and Mangalam present a picture of the characteristics of the Appalachian kinship system in their paper, "Kentucky Mountain Migration and the Stem-Family: An American Variation in a Theme by Le Play".[21] The family of Le Play unites kin members in cohesive family groups and fits individual desires into a framework of family needs. The stem-family maintains a homestead for its immediate members and sends other members elsewhere to make their own living. Le Play's central concern was what the stem family does for its branches. It facilitates and encourages migration when conditions demand it while providing "havens of safety" to which the branches could return during crises such as unemployment.

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19 Harry K. Schwarzweller, "Adaptation of Appalachian Migrants to the Industrial Work Situation: A Case Study," (working paper for Conference on Migration and Behavior Deviance, Puerto Rico, November 4-8, 1968), pp. 19-20.

20 Harry Ernst, "Appalachian in a Hostile World," Sunday Gazette Mail (Charleston, West Virginia), October 9, 1966.

21 James S. Brown, Harry K. Schwarzweller, Joseph J. Mangalam, "Kentucky Mountain Migration and the Stem-Family: An American Variation on a Theme by Le Play," Rural Sociology, XXVII (March, 1963).

In other words, it encourages individual initiative while at the same time exerting moral control over its members.

There are two trends of thought concerning the effects of being a member of this kinship webb. According to Charles Tilly and C. Harold Brown,[22] migration under the auspices of kinship seems to be most common among groups which have the least skill in dealing with impersonal urban institutions like markets, bureaucracies, and communication systems. The support and protection of the kinfolk balances their weakness in these other respects. However, according to this approach kin groups are limited in aiding integration. They specialize in certain kinds of aid and rarely have jobs as a part of their gift. They can more often offer housing, at least temporarily, but they vary greatly in how much skill in dealing with major urban institutions they can lend to a newcomer. The family's enduring specialty lies in the internal operation of the household rather than its external relations. In general, kin groups in the city provide lodging, personal care, food, emotional support, and short-term cash. In this view, then, migration under the auspices of kinship promotes continuing intense involvement in kin groups and thereby slows down assimilation to the formal structure of the city.

Contrary to this conclusion Harry K. Schwarzweller in "Adaptation of Appalachian Migrants to the Industrial Work Situation: A Case Study," presented his analysis of the effects of the webb of kinship on adjustment of a group of rural Appalachians from Beech Creek, Kentucky, who were

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[22] Charles Tilly and C. Harold Brown, "On Uprooting, Kinship, and the Auspices of Migration," International Journal of Comparative Sociology, VII (September, 1967).

residing in or near Cincinnati in 1962.[23]

He feels that the stem-family form of kinship structure helped to stimulate out-migration from the mountains, directed and "cushioned" the relocation of Beech Creekers, and facilitated, in various ways, the entry of migrants into the industrial work situation. Through the kin network, information about jobs and working conditions in the area of destination were made known to potential migrants in the mountain neighborhood. Kinsfolk in the host community assisted newcomers in finding the initial jobs, and, thereafter, served as advisors and instructors in the process of urbanizing their "greenhorn" kinsmen. More important, the "branch-family network" in the area of destination, which is linked directly with the family homestead in the mountains, provided the newcomer with a measure of assurance that, in the event of some unforeseen crises, he would not stand alone. The Beech Creek stem-family systems, in short, served to stabilize the immigrant's social world external to the factory and consequently, helped to keep "off-the-job" problems and anxieties from entering into and disturbing the migrant's "on-the-job" performance. Consistent with Schwarzweller's view of the family system as an aid to the adjustment of the rural migrant is Jitodai's belief that informal group participation is not a substitute for formal group membership, as Tilly and Brown claimed in the earlier presentations, but that the two, informal and formal, group participation go together.[24]

The value of kinship, then, may or may not be an advantage in the adjustment process of the Appalachian migrant.

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[23] Schwarzweller, op. cit., p. 2.

[24] Ted Teruo Jitodai, "Migration and Social Participation," Information incomplete.

The Research Design

The Sample. The sample in this survey has been drawn from the State of West Virginia and from Cleveland, Ohio, and it includes only male heads of households. Initially the survey was designed to include only respondents who were residents of the State of West Virginia. Later it was expanded to include West Virginia migrants from what might be called the Appalachian ghetto in Cleveland, and even later it was expanded to include West Virginians from the Cleveland suburbs.

For the state survey a cluster random sample of approximately 1,300 respondents was secured on the basis of the following criteria: (a) size of community, (b) region of the state (mining, non-mining, northern, and southern part of the state), and (c) socioeconomic status. Thus two counties were selected from the northern part of the state, Mineral and Hardy, and one county, Raleigh, from the southern part of the state. In each county communities were selected on the basis of size. Inside these communities and for smaller communities in particular, the n^{th} household was interviewed. For larger communities a stratified cluster sample based on socioeconomic status was drawn. Thus, the town of Keyser, Mineral County, was divided into nine segments representing five different socioeconomic strata. For each socioeconomic stratum one segment was retained, and the n^{th} household in this segment was marked for interview. In addition to these three counties a similar but more elaborate procedure was followed to interview respondents in the cities of Charleston and Morgantown. In the case of Charleston, nineteen segments representing eight different socioeconomic strata were selected. In some of these segments the n^{th} block and in each block the n^{th} household were selected for interview. Thus, besides open country and very small towns the following towns were

included in the sample: Piedmont and Keyser, Mineral County (population 2,000 and 6,192, respectively); Beckley, Raleigh County (population 18,642); Morgantown, Monongalia County (population 22, 487); and Charleston, Kanawha County (population 85,796).

In Cleveland initially the sampling area included only what is termed the Appalachian ghetto, which is located on the West Side, between Lorain Avenue and the downtown area, and east and west of 25th Street, West. In this case, blocks were selected randomly and every male West Virginian in the block was interviewed. In total 170 persons were interviewed.

The suburban sampling area includes all the satellite communities of the West Side of Cleveland. However, only a number of these communities were sampled. Addresses of West Virginians in these towns were secured through school and church records, informants from various industries located in the area, from addresses secured in West Virginia, and through the snow-balling techniques where names were elicited from the interviewees. Thus, approximately 370 interviews were secured from the suburbs.

In order to be able to delineate the sample and include the most extreme variations in characteristics, the interstitial area between the ghetto and suburbs was not included in the sampling universe.

Definitions and Variables. The area we call "Appalachian ghetto" is located in the West Side of Cleveland, and it is the place where Appalachian newcomers usually go. In later years, however, a number of migrants go directly to the interstitial area between ghetto and suburbs, but not to the suburbs. What we call Appalachian ghetto may be defined as a ghetto only on the basis of the distinct characteristics of its residents such as low income, style of life, and the fact that they mainly come from Appalachia.

The area is also distinct because it includes many old tenaments and welfare type agencies with second hand furniture stores such as those run by the "volunteers of America" and similar organizations. Like in most cities in this country the so called Appalachian ghetto is part of the first ecological circle surrounding the downtown district. In most cities a variety of nationality groups has during this century succeeded each other in occupying this zone adjacent to the downtown area. In the last couple of years Puerto Ricans have been moving into the area, succeeding the Appalachians, who in turn had succeeded a group which included a considerable number of first and second generation Eastern European immigrants.

Overgeneralizing we might say that the second zone surrounding the so called ghetto is an area with single family homes whose residents are not as transient as those of the ghetto and whose homes and gardens are better kept as compared to those in the ghetto. A number of West Virginians now reside in this zone. The third zone includes still better houses than the second zone including a number of better homes made out of brick. Beyond this area are the suburban towns. A number of these towns can be seen at the beginning of this publication on the attached map of Cleveland and suburban towns of the West Side which is the side the so called Appalachian ghetto is located. One of the main streets going from downtown through the ghetto to the suburbs, 25th Street, becomes a throughway as it reaches the suburbs. Most suburban Appalachians live in towns surrounding this highway. In Brunswick, for instance, it is claimed that more than half of the residents are from West Virginia. Brunswick resembles any new lower income suburban town. The value of most homes is between $12,000 and $18,000; the lawns are well kept and the furniture inside is usually modern. Many West Virginians work for industries such as the automobile

industries with plants located in the West Side but either outside of the city or toward its periphery.

The main part of the life of these people, therefore, is spent in a physical environment which does not exactly resemble West Virginia because it consists of only low rolling hills with limited number of trees, but it does offer facilities and conveniences which are far more adequate than one could find in rural West Virginia.

The variables which are treated in this study are defined and described in the parts of the report where they are examined. Most of these variables have been included in both the State and the Cleveland questionnaires, but some variables have been used only in one of these subsamples.

The initial purpose of this survey was to ascertain certain social and sociopsychological attributes of selected segments of the state's population. These segments were to be designated in terms of size of community, socioeconomic status, and non-migrant and returned migrant status. But, because close to one-third of the West Virginians now live outside the state, Cleveland, a city where large numbers of West Virginians live, was also included in the universe. The population universe in Cleveland initially included only the so-called Appalachian ghetto. During interviewing, however, it became apparent that there were more West Virginians in the suburbs than in the ghetto. To include these people in the sample, the author applied for a grant at the Manpower Administration, Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation, and Research, Department of Labor. The request was granted but under one stipulation, that we include in our questionnaire approximately ten pages of the questionnaire of the Bureau of Social Science Research which had a grant to study southern immigrants in Cleveland.

The present paper deals only with the presentation of marginals for four different groups: non-migrants, returned migrants, and residents of the Cleveland Appalachian ghetto and of the suburbs. In order to eliminate at least part of the intervening variables and thus become able to acquire some understanding of some relatively basic social process we were set to study, these four groups have been matched in terms of age and education. Attempt was not made to match the four groups in terms of income, and therefore secure matching in terms of socioeconomic status, because it is known that wages in Cleveland are higher. Because of the way the data are presented attempt was not made for statistical analysis. This will be done in the following analysis of specific areas of this report where primarily summary score scales will be treated.

The overall hypothesis here is that migration serves as an equilibrating process offering people opportunities to keep up with societal expectations to the degree that life satisfaction is not threatened. In the light of this hypothesis our four groups could be seen as representing, in terms of motivation and potential for adjustment, a continuum. In other words, these four groups are seen as including people of the same age and education who (a) did not migrate, (b) migrated but had difficulties adjusting and had to return to West Virginia, (c) remained in Cleveland but had to stay in the ghetto with its distinct sociocultural environment in order to be able to take city life and, (d) moved to the suburbs from the ghetto when culturally and economically confident, joining the main stream of the American life and society.

PART II

FINDINGS

Age, Education, and Attitudes Toward Education

Age. Age, as a variable, is probably the most discrete variable associated with migration. The most prominent finding concerning age and migration is that migrants throughout the world are primarily men between the ages of 20 and 40. Table 1 shows that this is the case with West Virginia migrants also. There are almost twice as many men of the ages from 20 to 30 in the Cleveland suburbs and almost four times as many (42.8 percent) in the Appalachian ghetto as compared to either non-migrants or returned migrants in West Virginia. The same is true for the age group between 31 and 40 which is also represented more by suburbanite migrants. But here the Cleveland suburbanites, not the ghetto group, constitute the most numerous segment (13.0 percent). The fact that the 21-30 group is represented more by ghetto residence while the 31 to 40 is represented more by suburbanites could very well be due to the fact that people first move into the ghetto and from there move to the suburbs when they secure the means. A follow up informal survey in Cleveland conducted by this author indicated that although most migrants still go to the ghetto, others in increasing numbers go directly to the interstitial area between ghetto and suburbs of the West Side of Cleveland. The main factors which determine the movement to one place or another seem to be family connections, skill and education.

With the exception of the group of ghetto residents, the remaining three groups have about a fourth of their members in the 41 to 50 age category; only about 11 percent of the ghetto residents belong to this age group. Beyond this age group in age categories over fifty years, the

Table 1: Age for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total Groups only.

Age Category	Total Groups			
	Non-Migrants	Returned Migrants	Ghetto	Suburb
20 or less	1.2	0.9	8.7	1.0
21 to 30	9.9	12.1	42.8	19.5
31 to 40	19.6	15.9	25.0	51.8
41 to 50	26.6	23.7	11.3	26.0
51 to 60	21.5	21.1	8.7	5.6
61 to 70	12.6	16.4	3.5	1.0
over 70	8.6	9.9	0.0	0.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(876)	(232)	(167)	(386)

proportion of Cleveland migrants and more so suburbanites declines sharply while non-migrants and particularly returned migrants keep proportionally increasing. There was only one percent of West Virginians over 60 years of age in the suburbs, and none over 70 either in the ghetto or the suburbs. The fact that the great migration started in 1940, that mainly younger people (particularly in the beginning of the great migration) left West Virginia and the fact that larger proportions of returned migrants are older might explain why there are no old West Virginians in Cleveland. What these present West Virginia migrants plan to do when they become older is examined in another part of this paper.

Education and Attitudes Toward Education. In relation to the transition presently taking place in Appalachia, formal education is seen as an important mechanism aiding adjustment to the new society.[25] More particularly, the function of education in this respect can be seen from two different points of view. First, it can be seen in terms of the preparation of new members for understanding the complexity of the new society and culture. This need is more pronounced in Appalachia, rural in particular, as compared to other parts of the country for the simple reason that rural Appalachia has more catching up to do, and it is pressured more by both internal and external social forces to do so. Second, the function of education can be seen as a means of social, occupational and, in turn, economic achievement which is also closely related to the level of living.[26]

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[25] Harry K. Schwarzweller and James S. Brown,"Education As A Cultural Bridge Between Eastern Kentucky and the Great Society," Rural Sociology, Vol. 27, No. 4, December,1962.)

[26] John D. Photiadis, Rural Southern Appalachia and Mass Society, An Overview, Office of Research and Development, Center for Appalachian Studies and Development, West Virginia University.

The latter two forms of achievement involving the theme of the American culture which emphasizes this kind of achievement for rural Appalachians in particular are very instrumental in the development of favorable attitudes toward education. Formal education then, is seen more among lower social strata as a means of responding to the societal demands for higher income and level of living.

One of the uses of education for the purposes we mentioned above is that it makes adjustment, both economic and cultural, to urban centers easier. Rural migrants in the city, for instance, are known to have more education than people in the communities they have left behind although less than those living in the city where they migrate. In other words, migration lowers the mean level of education both in the place of origin and destination. Table 2 indicates the educational level of the four groups which are used for comparison purposes through this study: non-migrants, returned migrants, West Virginian residents in the Appalachian ghetto of Cleveland, and West Virginians in the Cleveland suburbs. This table only partly supports this point because the data which are presented in the table include urban centers of the State of West Virginia and not exclusively rural areas from which most migrants come. Approximately 27 percent of non-migrants and 18 percent of returned migrants in West Virginia have more than a high school education. The corresponding proportions are much lower among migrants, and more so among those living in the ghetto of Cleveland where only 3.6 percent have gone beyond high school For migrants living in the suburbs of Cleveland the corresponding proportion is 12 percent. On the other hand, this latter group includes the lowest proportion (19.4 percent) of the people who have attained only a grammar school education, followed by those who reside in West Virginia and have never migrated.

Table 2: Education (in years) of Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total Groupsonly.

Years Education	Total Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
3 or less	3.5	3.1	4.5	0.3
4-6	9.7	10.7	5.1	2.4
7-8	18.2	28.5	27.6	16.7
9-10	9.6	9.0	29.0	21.1
11-12	33.4	30.9	30.2	47.5
13-16	16.9	11.9	2.1	9.9
16 or more	8.7	5.9	1.5	2.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(890)	(235)	(167)	(383)

Returned migrants and residents of the Appalachian ghetto in Cleveland have the highest proportion (42.3 and 37.1 percent, respectively) of individuals who either attended or finished grammar school. If, then, living in the ghetto and returning to West Virginia are considered indications of less successful adaptation, one might say that grammar school education is associated with less favorable adjustment of migrants.

Table 2 also shows that those who have remained in Cleveland, either in the ghetto or suburbs, are predominantly people who either attended or completed high school, that is, people who have 9 to 12 years education--68.6 and 59.2 percent of suburbs and ghetto, respectively. For those who returned, the corresponding proportion is only 39.9 percent. Therefore, the most visible characteristic of those who have remained in Cleveland, as compared to the other two groups in West Virginia is that the Cleveland groups have a large proportion of people with one to two years of high school. However, the group of Cleveland suburbanites distinguishes itself from the other three groups because half of it, 47.5 percent, consists of people who have 11 to 12 years of education.

Considering the nature of life in the ghetto and in some ways the nature of the people that stay there as compared with the suburbs, one might expect the larger proportion of migrant children to be school dropouts in the ghetto. Table 3 shows, however, that in both areas the same proportion of families (about 10 percent) have children who drop out of school. Surprisingly enough, the suburbs, in fact, have a larger proportion of families who have two children who dropped out of school. One-third have one child who dropped out of school; about one-third have two, and about another third have three or more. Suburbs, which do not have very large families as will be presented later, have a lower proportion of families with three

Table 3: Questions Referring to Children's Dropping Out of School for Ghetto and Suburbs for Matched and Total Groups.

Incidence of dropouts	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburb	Ghetto	Suburb
Question: Do you have any children who have dropped out of school?				
Yes	9.7	9.6	10.8	8.9
No	90.3	90.4	89.2	91.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(134)	(342)	(65)	(146)
Number				
Question: If you have children dropping out of school, how many?				
One	38.4	37.9	57.1	77.8
Two	30.8	44.8	28.6	11.1
Three or more	30.8	17.3	14.3	11.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(13)	(29)	(7)	(9)
Grade				
Question: If you have children dropping out of school, at what grade did they drop?				
6 or lower	8.3	2.8	14.3	0.0
7-8	0.0	16.7	0.0	11.1
9-11	91.7	80.5	85.7	88.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(12)	(36)	(7)	(9)

or more children who dropped out of school (Question 2), but as mentioned before they have a larger proportion of families with two children who dropped out of school. By far, the majority of all these children dropped out of school after the ninth year, about 91 7percent for ghetto and 80.5 percent for the suburbs.

In analyzing another area of education, that of technical training, (Table 4) it can be seen, first, that the suburbanites of Cleveland have the largest proportion (3.6 percent) of individuals with three or more years of technical training. In general, however, there is not much difference between West Virginia and Cleveland as to the proportion of individuals with formal technical training. Even in Cleveland and in the suburbs, in particular, the proportion of individuals with even limited technical training is very small, 8.8 percent for suburbs and 6.0 percent for the ghetto. When the groups are matched in terms of age and education (right side of Table 4) the proportion of returned migrants with up to two years of technical training increases to 12.2 percent. It could be that these are the kind of migrants who return to West Virginia because they can find jobs paying comparative wages.

Attitudes toward education can be affected by early family environment, or the way the individual perceives the role formal education plays in society; Table 5 shows such attitudes of the respondents in the four groups. At the right side of the table are the responses of the four groups matched in terms of age and formal education. In all four groups the majority of respondents disagree with the statement that "a man can learn more by working four years than by going to high school." Still a proportion of respondents (varying from 14.7 to 19.2 and 12.2 to 21.8 percent for the matched groups) agrees with the statement, particularly suburbanites who

Table 4: Years of Technical Training for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburb for Matched and Total Groups.

Years	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
None	93.5	91.2	94.0	91.2	92.2	86.4	90.4	91.0
One or less	2.3	4.2	2.4	3.1	2.4	6.8	2.7	3.0
2	2.3	3.4	2.4	2.1	3.0	5.4	4.1	3.0
3 or more	1.9	1.2	1.2	3.6	2.4	1.4	2.8	3.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(236)	(167)	(390)	(166)	(74)	(74)	(166)

Table 5: Questions and Scale for Attitude Toward Education for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Matched and Total Groups.

Degree of Agreement	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Question: A man can learn more by working four years than by going to high school.								
St., mod. agr.	15.0	14.7	17.5	19.2	16.5	12.2	17.3	21.8
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	18.6	12.6	22.2	18.7	21.5	5.4	25.4	20.6
St., mod. dis.	66.4	72.7	60.3	62.1	62.0	82.4	57.3	57.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(886)	(239)	(166)	(386)	(163)	(74)	(75)	(165)
Question: Most young people are getting too much education.								
St., mod. agr.	6.7	4.2	6.0	5.7	7.9	5.3	2.6	7.3
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	10.8	7.5	3.0	11.6	14.1	6.6	5.3	13.4
St., mod. dis.	82.5	88.3	91.0	82.7	78.0	88.1	92.1	79.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(892)	(239)	(167)	(387)	(164)	(75)	(75)	(165)
Question: Our schools encourage an individual to think for himself.								
St., mod. agr.	56.1	62.7	48.7	45.4	58.2	59.5	47.9	41.8
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	29.7	22.2	31.5	24.3	26.4	28.4	35.6	23.0
St., mod. dis.	14.2	15.1	19.8	30.3	15.4	12.1	16.5	35.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(879)	(239)	(162)	(383)	(163)	(74)	(73)	(165)
Question: High school courses are too impractical.								
St. mod. agr.	21.2	25.4	17.4	23.4	24.5	24.3	14.9	28.7
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	37.8	27.6	32.2	33.8	37.5	23.0	35.1	31.7
St., mod. dis.	41.0	47.0	50.4	42.8	38.0	52.7	50.0	39.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(867)	(232)	(161)	(381)	(163)	(74)	(74)	(164)
Attitudes Toward Education Scale								
High (4-10)	56.8	59.0	55.7	41.5	52.5	58.3	56.9	31.9
Medium (11-14)	25.0	24.1	26.0	30.4	26.9	29.2	24.9	31.4
Low (15-28)	18.2	16.9	18.3	28.1	20.6	12.5	18.2	36.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(857)	(229)	(158)	(388)	(160)	(72)	(72)	(166)

have comparatively more years of education although it includes primarily years in high school.

Very few respondents disagree with the second statement of Table 5 suggesting that "most young people are getting too much education." As the table shows, there are no differences among the four groups except in matching groups where ghetto residents seem to disagree with this statement more than respondents from the other groups.

There are differences in both the unmatched and matched groups in responses to the third statement of Table 5 that "our schools encourage an individual to think for himself." However, as was the case with the first statement of this table, lower proportions of suburbanites agree with this statement (45.4 and 41.8 percent for the matched groups), and larger proportions disagree (30.3 and 35.2 percent for the matched groups). Differences disappear with slightly more favorable attitudes among suburbanites in the matched groups when it comes to the fourth statement that "high school courses are too impractical."

Finally, the unexpected less favorable attitudes of the suburbanites toward formal education is clearly shown in the scale (bottom of table) which combines all four questions and measures attitudes toward formal education in general. The difference becomes more pronounced in the matched groups where among West Virginia suburbanites in Cleveland only 31.9 percent have high scores as compared to 52.5, 58.3, and 56.9 percent for the other three groups. Could it be, then, that these more or less successful migrants of the suburbs have less favorable attitudes toward formal education as compared to those who have to remain in the ghetto, and those who cannot survive in the city at all and return home? As a possible explanation, it could be that suburbanites see formal education as impractical

in terms of their own immediate goals because in order to enter desirable industries and have a better position in the industries they are presently working in, such as the automobile industry, technical skills are more important than say, two more years of education. Furthermore, attainment of this type of occupation is considered quite an achievement by this group. If high schools had given them, along with more general education, the technical training they needed, (following data show that very few had a skill when they came to Cleveland) the suburbanites would probably have more favorable attitudes toward education in general.

Their attitudes on this matter are primarily developed on the basis of their personal success or the success of workers just above them in rank who usually have a technical skill. As compared to the hollows of West Virginia, lower middle class income and suburban life away from the congestion of the city can offer gratification and sense of accomplishment, so that any means which could lead to this goal, such as technical education, would be desirable. College does not seem to occupy a large part in their present thoughts because at least now it is beyond them. If these attitudes and experiences would remain with them, they might favor similar careers for their children as was the case with previous generations of skilled and semi-skilled workers. However, now under the pressures of the new mass society their attitudes may change. Furthermore, suburbanites will be more and more influenced by their own children who will be born in the city and develop aspirations, most of which can only be implemented through formal education, and which are similar to other youngsters in the city, or at least to those in neighborhoods of similar socioeconomic status.

Family Composition

By far the majority of migrants in Cleveland are married, but the proportion of married men is lower (83.9 percent, Table 6) in the ghetto. This difference, however, disappears when the groups are matched in terms of age and education (right side of Table 6). Concerning the proportion of families having parents and relatives living with them, close to one-sixth of the families in three groups do so. The proportion of such extended families is lower among suburbanites (8.7 percent), but the difference disappears when the four groups are matched. This in turn suggests that it is not the suburban environment which does not favor the extended family but either the age or the education of the people who move there.

Both in West Virginia and in Cleveland the predominant family size is three to four members. Approximately 40 percent of the respondents in the four groups are members of families of this size (Table 8). As the size of the family becomes larger, however, differences between the two Cleveland groups and the two groups in West Virginia become pronounced. Nearly 22 percent of the non-migrants and returned migrants have families with 5 to 6 members, but among residents of the Cleveland ghetto and suburbs these corresponding proportions are higher (28.0 and 37.1 percent).

Larger proportions of suburbanites (11.4 percent) also have families of seven to eight members. The ghetto, on the other hand, has proportionally larger percentage of families with nine to ten children. It is quite probable that as the family becomes larger the need for larger income increases and, therefore, migration becomes necessary; thus, Cleveland has larger families. It is also quite probable that as the family moves to the more complex urban cultural environment, family life becomes more

Table 6: Marital Status for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Matched and Total Groups.

Marital Status	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Married	91.1	90.7	83.9	91.3	94.2	98.6	90.5	92.2
Single	3.9	2.5	13.1	6.0	2.0	0.0	4.1	4.8
Divorced, Widowed, etc.	5.0	6.8	3.0	2.7	3.8	1.4	5.4	3.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(895)	(236)	(168)	(389)	(165)	(74)	(74)	(166)

Table 7: Parents or Relatives Living with Respondents for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburb for Matched and Total Groups.

Parents or Relatives living with you.	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Yes	13.3	16.5	16.2	8.7	8.7	11.3	12.2	9.3
No	86.7	83.5	83.8	91.3	91.3	88.7	87.8	90.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(839)	(231)	(167)	(367)	(149)	(71)	(74)	(161)

Table 8: Total Number in Family (including resident parents and relatives) for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburb for Matched and Total Groups.

Number in Family	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
1	5.3	3.5	7.1	1.6	1.3	2.8	5.4	2.5
2	24.3	25.2	10.7	7.2	13.7	5.6	12.2	4.9
3-4	41.1	39.1	42.3	41.1	49.0	45.8	40.5	41.7
5-6	21.9	21.7	28.0	37.1	28.1	31.9	24.3	39.3
7-8	5.6	7.8	7.7	11.4	6.5	11.1	9.5	10.4
9-10	1.3	0.9	3.6	0.8	0.7	1.4	6.8	0.6
11-12	0.1	0.9	0.6	0.8	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.6
12+	0.4	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.7	1.4	0.0	0.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(851)	(230)	(168)	(377)	(153)	(72)	(74)	(163)

important and may even serve as some form of adjustment to the new environment.

Data on way of life preferences, which are used in the present study as indicators of value orientation (Table 39), show that among the nine ways of life examined family life ranks first only among the ghetto and suburbanite migrants in Cleveland. In addition, suburbanites, in general, tend to have larger families than other city residents regardless of whether they are migrants or not. It could be that a number of reasons determine the larger families of the city migrants in general, and some additional reasons determine the larger families of the suburbanite and ghetto migrants in particular.

As stated previously, families of nine to ten members are in higher proportion among the ghetto migrants (Table 8). One might say that, in general, this size is more characteristic of families in ghettos throughout the country as compared to the suburbs. The reason might be formal education, previous socialization, or present sociopsychological needs.

In addition to having the largest proportion of large families, the Cleveland Appalachian ghetto also has the largest proportion (7.1 percent, Table 6) of one member families among the three groups of migrants. This proportion is part of the 13.1 percent of the unmarried individuals (over 20) of the ghetto (Table 6). Then, too, there are 1.6 percent one member families in the suburbs which is part of the 6.1 percent of unmarried individuals living in the suburbs. This suggests that about six percent of the single individuals in the ghetto and about four and a half percent of those in the suburbs are individuals, probably young, who live with either their parents or brothers and sisters. It would seem that the family here becomes an agency which aids adjustment of young people coming

Table 9: Number of Children for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups.

Number of Children	Total Group				Matched Group			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
1	16.2	17.4	22.2	12.3	26.6	25.7	20.3	13.3
2	25.0	19.1	21.0	32.6	27.3	23.0	25.7	33.7
3	19.4	20.3	16.2	20.9	28.1	17.6	16.2	22.3
4	9.0	13.6	6.0	15.1	14.1	6.8	5.4	18.1
5-6	8.0	12.3	9.6	8.6	3.1	13.5	10.8	6.0
7-8	3.9	3.0	4.8	1.0	0.0	1.3	8.0	0.0
9+	1.9	2.9	1.8	1.1	0.8	2.6	1.4	0.6
None	16.6	11.4	18.6	8.4	0.0	9.5	12.2	6.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(236)	(168)	(383)	(128)	(74)	(74)	(166)

to the city.[27]

Table 9 shows the number of children which the families in the four groups have. Suburbs, as elsewhere, have the lowest proportion of one-child families and the largest proportion of two-children families; families with 7 or more children are less prominent in the suburbs. Such size, it can be seen, more or less represents the American standards. In general, however, we may say that larger numbers of children, regardless of age and education of the respondent,are associated with out-migration. Also, complete lack of children is related to out-migration when it refers to the age and education group which is typical of the migrants. In the case of the large number of children (7 or more) or the case of no children at all, the largest proportion of migrants remains in the ghetto, a smaller proportion returns to West Virginia, and still a smaller proportion moves to the suburbs.

Income and Level of Living

In the introduction of this paper we looked at migration as an equilibrating process. By moving to centers where employment is available, economically dislocated groups can secure income and level of living in line with the expectations of the new mass society. This felt expectation is seen as a consequence of the recent more complete incorporation of rural areas, particularly low-income areas, such as Appalachia, into the mass society. Under the present subheading we compare in terms of

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27 James S. Brown, Harry K. Schwarzweller, Joseph J. Mangalam, "Kentucky Mountain Migration and the Stem-Family: An American Variation on a Theme by Le Play," Rural Sociology, XXVII (March, 1963).

income and level of living our four groups on the premise that these comparisons examined in the light of additional data presented in this paper will offer not only indications of income differences, but also clues as to why these differences exist and how, they in turn, affect individual behavior.

Annual Income and Weekly Wages. Table 10 shows the income distribution of the four groups indicating that although in the over $14,000 annual income group the non-migrants (which include professional and businessmen) have the largest proportion, in the lower-middle, middle, and upper-middle income group ($5,000 to $14,000) the suburbs are represented with higher proportions. As a matter of fact, 86.4 percent of the migrants living in the suburbs of Cleveland fall into this income category. The corresponding proportions for ghetto and returned migrants who fall into this category are 56.5 and 44.8 percent, respectively. For non-migrants this proportion is 48.1 percent although 14.1 percent in the over $9,000 category. However, looking at the right side of the table where the four groups are matched one can see that the income of the suburbanites becomes much higher as compared to the other groups. In this case the proportion of suburbanites in the $9,000 to $13,999 income category becomes more than three times higher than that of the non-migrants while the proportion of those with income over $14,000 becomes twice as high, although the reverse was true before when we looked at the left side of Table 10. In other words, if one could exclude occupations such as professionals and certain types of businessmen (who are not the kind of people who move to Cleveland) West Virginians in the suburbs, who at some estimates are about twice as numerous as those living in the ghetto, are at least economically very successful.

Table 10: Annual Income for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups.

Income Category	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrants	Returned Migrants	Ghetto	Suburbs	Non-Migrants	Returned Migrants	Ghetto	Suburbs
$14,000 +	5.5	1.6	0.0	1.5	1.2	1.3	0.0	2.5
$9,000-13,999	14.1	7.9	6.5	25.1	7.2	6.7	6.7	25.2
$7,000-8,999	10.3	11.2	18.5	28.2	10.2	10.7	24.0	23.9
$5,000-6,999	23.7	25.7	31.5	33.1	36.1	36.0	29.3	33.7
$3,000-4,999	18.8	19.1	16.7	9.1	25.4	21.3	24.0	11.0
$2,000-2,999	10.1	8.3	10.7	0.5	9.1	5.3	8.0	0.6
$1,000-1,999	6.3	10.4	5.4	0.2	3.6	8.0	1.3	0.6
Less than $1,000	11.2	15.8	10.7	2.3	7.2	10.7	6.7	2.5
$5,000 or more	53.6	46.4	56.5	87.9	54.7	54.7	60.0	85.3
$4,999 or less	46.4	53.6	43.5	12.1	45.3	45.3	40.0	14.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(890)	(241)	(168)	(387)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)

Now, if one considers that by far most migrants in Cleveland come from rural areas with much lower income than that shown in the first and second column of Table 10, it becomes apparent that migration offers some very good opportunities for economic achievement. This naturally should be examined along with the fact that some of the migrants have to go through difficult experiences in order to reach this stage, some are forced to remain in the ghetto in order to survive in the city, and some cannot take the city at all and are forced to return to West Virginia. In addition, one should consider the societal pressures and, in turn, the mental state that could develop among those who have the qualifications of the suburban migrants and their desire for success (and even of those in the ghetto) if they had not this opportunity to out-migrate but had to stay in the hollows of Appalachia. Television and contacts with the outside would have encouraged them to have the income and level of living the visible urban middle class has, but in West Virginia they would not have the opportunities for achieving these levels. As a consequence, low morale, anomie, or some other form of alienation or deviance might have been the result.

Our society, by placing strong emphasis on economic achievement and level of living, which after all are the themes of our culture, creates strong desires which for most people involve strong emotions. But what is difficult and makes migration curcial and even necessary is that society does not, at least for the present, provide enough means for certain groups, such as the rural Appalachians, to implement these desires in their own communities. Thus, many take chances and move out of their communities or hollows knowing that they would have to experience various hardships in order to succeed. Others for one reason or another, do not take these chances and either retreat from society or find some other way to cope with societal

pressures and alleviate their anxieties. Often, however, lack of legitimacy of these new modes of adaptation creates undesirable societal pressures for the deviant. Furthermore, when there are lack of legitimate opportunities for alleviating anxieties,the consequences are usually unhappiness, alienation, more basic personality disorganization and sometimes further deviancy. In support of this speculation, data from this same survey indicate higher alienation scores and lower morale among rural West Virginians. From what we know this was not necessarily true in the past. Certain returned migrants, rural people without means who have never migrated and have not made the score, or others who for one reason or another have chosen to join the welfare roles often interact with each other and on the basis of this interaction develop some of their own norms. For instance, often the norm this interaction produces indicates that collecting welfare is not a bad thing; society owes this to the welfare recipient--and sometimes the norm even suggests that it is clever to make a living without working. It could be that if employment was available in their own communities where the new complex culture would not be an intervening variable, many of these people, including people who are physically handicapped, would not have to resort to these rationalizations. Still it should be understood that for many, this rationalization or expression of apathy is necessary because otherwise other probably more detrimental forms of deviancy might be the substitutes. Let us look at the weekly wages people in these groups are making.

Table 11 shows weekly wages of the Cleveland migrants indicating that about three-fourths of the respondents in the ghetto and half of the respondents in the suburbs earn more than $120 weekly. These figures are in contrast with figures of the annual income presented in Table 10 which

Table 11: Weekly Wages for Cleveland Suburbs and Ghetto for Total and Matched Groups.

Weekly Wages ($)	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Suburbs	Ghetto	Suburbs	Ghetto
65 or less	3.0	1.0	1.3	1.2
66 to 90	10.1	2.4	5.3	2.4
91 to 105	13.1	3.8	17.3	1.8
106 to 120	22.6	7.2	26.7	8.0
121 to 140	25.0	33.9	24.0	37.4
140 or more	26.2	51.7	25.4	49.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(168)	(387)	(75)	(103)

shows that suburbanites have the highest annual income. Possible reasons for this discrepancy could be the following: (1) ghetto residents might earn higher wages, but not as many have steady jobs as in the suburbs, (2) more of the ghetto residents are now in Cleveland and, therefore, did not make these wages for an entire year even in the case where they might have steady jobs, and (3) many suburbanites who usually work in industries such as the automobile industry often work overtime. Both empirical evidence and informal discussions with Cleveland migrants indicate that both steady jobs and longer stays in Cleveland are associated with settlement in the suburbs and, in turn, attempts to buy a house.

Concerning buying a house, which in this case is associated with suburban living, migrants, at least in the earlier years of the flight to the suburbs, were quite hesitant of going into debt in order to buy a house even in the case where the cost of the house was less than twice their annual earnings. In particular in their early life, economic deprivation and lack of security must have created some fear syndromes. Such syndromes are often in conflict with tendencies to spend for pleasures of immediate gratification or relative lack of interest in saving. Formation of some sort of community in Cleveland, fear of going in debt to acquire property, and saving are some of the distinct differences between Appalachian migrants moving into the area of Cleveland which we called "ghetto" and the earlier residents of this area who were each European immigrants.

Level of Living. In addition to income, level of living is mentioned as the other attribute which constitutes the theme of the American culture. Table 12 shows possession of our four groups of the fifteen levels of living items. Electricity is almost commonly possessed, but possession of gas or electric stoves seem to differentiate West Virginians in Cleveland and in their own state (8.4 percent of the returned migrants and 6.5 percent of the non-migrants do not have gas or electric stoves). The differences in the four groups are retained in the matched groups.

Another item which differentiates the four groups are automatic and semi-automatic washers. All suburbanites have washers and three-fourths of them have automatic ones. Ghetto residents have the lowest proportion of washers and dryers, but probably the main reason for that is the availability of nearby laundramats. Among suburbanites, approximately one in ten does not have a dryer; among non-migrants, five in ten; and among returned migrants, more than six in ten. Differences in the four groups (matched or unmatched) disappear when it comes to television; approximately one in ten in all four groups do not have a black and white television. Among Cleveland suburbanites three out of ten have color television--in the other groups one in ten have color television except returned migrants where this proportion is lower.

Flush toilets are another convenience returned migrants have in lower proportions than the others. One in four does not have this facility, but everyone in Cleveland does have it, which suggests that when these people were in the city they also had flush toilets. Considering, then, that some migrants prefer to return to a hollow or some other place in Appalachia where they would have to live without the conveniences they had in Cleveland,

Table 12: Level of Living Items for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Matched and Total Groups.

Level of Living Item		Total Groups				Matched Groups			
		Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Electricity	Yes	99.4	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	No	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total Percent		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases		(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)
Cookstove (gas or elec.)	Yes	93.5	91.6	100.0	99.7	93.3	90.7	100.0	100.0
	No	6.5	8.4	0.0	0.3	6.7	9.3	0.0	0.0
Total Percent		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases		(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)
Automatic Washer	Yes	52.6	46.9	32.9	75.1	52.7	48.0	32.0	74.8
	No	47.4	53.1	67.1	24.9	47.3	52.0	68.0	25.2
Total Percent		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases		(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)
Semi-auto. Washer	Yes	39.9	46.5	35.3	24.7	42.4	42.7	37.3	23.2
	No	60.1	53.5	64.7	75.3	57.6	57.3	62.7	76.8
Total Percent		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases		(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)
Dryer	Yes	49.4	35.6	29.3	78.8	47.3	36.0	33.3	80.9
	No	50.6	64.4	70.7	21.2	52.7	64.0	66.7	19.1
Total Percent		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases		(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)
B&W TV.	Yes	89.5	88.7	87.3	86.3	91.5	89.3	89.3	87.1
	No	10.5	11.3	12.7	13.7	8.5	10.7	10.7	12.9
Total Percent		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases		(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)
Flush Toilet	Yes	84.5	76.2	98.8	98.4	79.4	74.7	98.7	98.8
	No	15.5	23.8	1.2	1.6	20.6	25.3	1.3	1.2
Total Percent		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases		(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)
W to W Carpet	Yes	28.7	19.7	22.2	61.3	15.2	18.7	24.0	62.9
	No	71.3	80.3	77.8	38.7	84.8	81.3	76.0	37.1
Total Percent		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases		(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)
Color TV	Yes	10.8	6.3	12.0	31.6	6.7	8.0	13.3	28.7
	No	89.2	93.7	88.0	68.4	93.3	92.0	86.7	71.3
Total Percent		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases		(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)

Continued

Table 12: Continued.

Level of Living Item		Total Groups				Matched Groups			
		Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Daily Newspaper	Yes	80.9	77.0	62.3	92.7	72.7	68.0	65.0	90.6
	No	19.1	23.0	37.7	7.3	27.3	32.0	35.0	9.4
Total Percent		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases		(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)
Telephone	Yes	81.2	75.3	54.5	94.8	77.0	61.3	58.7	92.0
	No	18.8	24.7	45.5	5.2	23.0	38.7	41.3	8.0
Total Percent		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases		(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)
Vacuum Cleaner	Yes	83.8	78.2	62.3	96.6	78.8	68.0	69.3	98.8
	No	16.2	21.8	37.7	3.4	21.2	32.0	30.7	1.2
Total Percent		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases		(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)
Bath and Shower	Yes	80.9	75.3	99.4	97.9	77.0	74.7	98.7	95.1
	No	19.1	24.7	0.6	2.1	23.0	25.3	1.3	4.9
Total Percent		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases		(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)
Air Conditioner	Yes	18.0	10.9	8.4	11.9	12.2	4.0	6.7	9.0
	No	82.0	89.1	91.6	88.1	87.8	96.0	93.3	91.0
Total Percent		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases		(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)
Kitchen Sink	Yes	95.1	90.0	97.6	98.7	95.2	88.0	97.3	98.2
	No	4.9	10.0	2.4	1.3	4.8	12.0	2.7	1.8
Total Percent		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases		(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)
First Car	1961 newer	54.2	48.1	49.4	93.9	47.0	52.0	56.8	95.0
	1950-1960	31.4	36.0	30.7	6.1	45.7	40.0	27.0	5.0
	Older than 1950	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	No car	14.4	14.2	19.9	0.0	7.3	8.0	16.2	0.0
Total Percent		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases		(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)
Second Car	1959 newer	25.9	17.9	10.7	36.7	10.8	9.3	18.7	37.4
	1950-1958	18.5	21.2	10.1	37.0	15.1	17.3	12.0	37.4
	Older than 1950	1.4	5.3	0.0	0.3	1.2	1.3	0.0	0.0
	None	54.2	55.6	79.2	26.0	72.9	72.1	69.3	25.2
Total Percent		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases		(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)

such as flush toilets or gas or electric stoves, one should realize that there must be strong reasons for these people to return to Appalachia. Some of these reasons will be examined later in this paper.

Wall to wall carpeting, which is a more discriminating level of living item, shows that three times as many (61.3 percent) suburbanites have it in their homes. Suburbanites in higher proportion than the other groups also subscribe to a daily newspaper and have a telephone. The corresponding proportions are lowest among ghetto residents of whom only 62.3 percent subscribe to daily newspapers and 54.5 percent have telephones. Now if in addition to the newspaper and telephone we consider television, it becomes obvious that West Virginia suburbanites not only have better perception as to what is going on in society because they have more education than the other migrants, but they also have more means to use mass media.

Another typical item which suburbanites possess at the highest proportion and ghetto residents at the lowest of the four groups is vacuum cleaners. Considering both non-migrants and returned migrants, it seems that in West Virginia still one in four residents probably use the broom. Bath and shower is an item which also shows the difference between West Virginians, where about one in five do not have this facility, and Cleveland residents, where almost everybody has a bath and shower. Air conditioning is possessed in larger proportions by non-migrants, and in this case climate is probably a factor since Cleveland is a few hundred miles north from Southern West Virginia where about half of the sample has been collected. On the other hand, a kitchen, which is a very important level of living item, does not exist in one in ten of the houses of the returned migrants, which, again, as was the case with stoves and flush toilets, indicates that

returned migrants have a lower level of living when they return. Because, as Table 12 indicates, almost everyone in Cleveland does have a kitchen, the very few who do not have a kitchen are probably single individuals who in comparison to the returned migrants are moving numerous times in Cleveland. In other words, returned migrants without kitchens represent families and not single individuals. Finally, a new automobile (less than five years old) which is a crucial indicator of status is owned by twice as many suburbanites (93.9 percent) as compared to those of the other three groups. The same is true concerning the possession of a second car where only 26.0 of the suburbanites do not have a second car. The corresponding proportions for ghetto, returned migrants, and non-migrants are 79.2, 55.6, and 54.2 percent respectively.

In summary one might say that at least in Cleveland in terms of income and level of living the stream of West Virginia migrants segregate into some distinct groups:

(1) the group of suburbanites which includes a large number of individuals with higher annual income and level of living than the average individual in the state of West Virginia. These differences in income and level of living become more pronounced when this group is compared with individuals of similar age and education in West Virginia,

(2) the group of ghetto residents who have approximately the annual income of the average individual in the state (with more people in the middle income groups and less in the high ones), but in certain respects lower level of living. When, however, these two groups are compared in terms of age and education, then ghetto residents are shown to have higher income and in certain respects

higher level of living than their counterparts in West Virginia. Still, in both above instances annual income and level of living of ghetto residents is lower than that of the suburbanites,and

(3) the group of migrants who return to West Virginia and have lower annual income and level of living than the average individual in the state (in particular more people in the less than $3,000 annual income category).

Considering that most migrants come from rural areas where the annual income and level of living is much lower than that of the state as a whole, one might conclude that for the majority of migrants,migration offers some excellent opportunitites for meeting societal expectations in the crucial areas of income and level of living. Still, in order to more fully evaluate migration in terms of function and dysfunction, one should examine at least five additional conditions: (1) the proportion and extent of socio-psychological damage of those who return, (2) the future usefulness of the skills these people have acquired in the city, (3) the mental state[28] of those who remain in the ghetto and suburbs (and interstitialarea), (4) the mental state of migrants if they had decided not to migrate, and (5) relative to the rest of society, the income and, in turn, mental state of decendents of the Cleveland migrants if their parents had not migrated but stayed in West Virginia. Answers to some of these questions will be presented in the pages which follow and in the summary and conclusions of this paper.

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[28] By mental state we mean the total whole of the psychic world of the individual. The way he perceives and relates himself to society and the particular reference group and his morale and faith in the future and life satisfaction in general.

After looking at income and level of living of people in our four groups we turn to the comparison of these groups in terms of the means their members use to secure their income and, in turn level of living.

Occupation and Employment

Occupational Distribution. Table 13 shows the present occupational distribution of respondents in our four groups, indicating that returned migrants have the largest proportion, 29.8 percent, of unskilled workers. In our other three groups approximately 20.0 percent are unskilled, but this includes the suburbs, too, which have levels of living and income higher than the other two groups. It seems that although the unskilled, in general, have less chances of succeeding in Cleveland, one in five do well at least in terms of area of residence. Why, then, are some unskilled in the suburbs? Explanations could include a better paying jobs, relatives in the suburbs, or membership in the upper strata of their home community in West Virginia with the consequent feeling that at least in terms of area of residence one should keep up with his old status.

When the groups are matched according to age and education as shown on the right side of Table 13, the proportion of unskilled among non-migrants and, in particular, among returned migrants increases considerably to 37.7 and 40.9 percent, respectively. In other words, among respondents of the same age and education there are more than twice as many unskilled in West Virginia and, in particular, among returned migrants as compared to migrants in Cleveland. Concerning the semi-skilled now, the largest proportion by far (62.7 percent, Table 12) is found among ghetto residents. The ghetto group is followed by the suburban group of which 30.6 percent are semi-skilled.

The suburban group excells in the proportion of skilled workers which

Table 13: Occupational Distributions for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups.

Type of Occupation	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Unskilled	18.9	29.8	19.0	20.7	37.7	40.9	18.8	17.7
Semi-skilled	12.8	24.4	62.7	30.6	24.3	28.8	60.9	34.8
Skilled	8.2	12.5	11.1	32.2	11.5	7.6	13.0	35.4
White Collar	8.0	7.1	3.3	5.2	8.8	7.6	1.5	4.4
Managerial	4.9	4.8	2.5	5.9	5.4	4.5	4.3	5.7
Businessmen	3.8	2.4	0.0	0.8	3.4	6.1	0.0	1.3
Farmers	6.7	7.1	0.0	0.0	5.5	3.0	0.0	0.0
Professionals	11.5	10.7	0.7	4.3	2.7	1.5	1.5	0.7
Other	25.2	1.2	0.7	0.3	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(168)	(153)	(376)	(148)	(66)	(69)	(158)

is three times as high, 32.2 percent, as in the other three groups. The lowest proportion of skilled workers, 8.0 is among non-migrants. In contrast, 12.5 percent of the returned migrants are skilled, but these are probably among those who returned later because they found a job in West Virginia. This does not indicate that all those who were offered jobs returned to their own state, because as will be reported later, about one in five Cleveland migrants were not interested in returning to West Virginia. Additionally, among the rest of the Cleveland migrants the majority would return only if they had the same income they have in Cleveland or at least 90 percent of it.

Concerning white collar workers, there are proportionally more in West Virginia than in Cleveland, and in Cleveland a few more in the suburbs as compared with the ghetto (Table 13). In the suburbs there are also twice as many residents in the managerial category as compared to the ghetto, but only a few more are in this category as compared to those in West Virginia.

Given the fact that none of the suburbanites were in the managerial category when in West Virginia (Table 14), it becomes obvious that migration has offered to them some good opportunities for occupational advancement. The proportion of businessmen, as expected, is higher among those in West Virginia including returned migrants. Also, as expected, in West Virginia there is a larger proportion of farmers and professionals, a category which includes teachers and individuals of similar occupational status. Finally, 25.2 percent, the largest group among the non-migrants, do not clearly fall into any of the conventionally used categories. (This category includes coal miners).

Table 14: Kind of Occupation Respondents had when in W. Va. for Ghetto, Suburbs for Matched and Total Groups.

	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
Type of Job	Ghetto	Suburbs	Ghetto	Suburbs
Coal Miner	24.6	32.4	20.3	24.1
Unskilled	21.6	21.6	22.6	24.7
Semi-skilled	15.0	17.6	7.2	6.6
Skilled	4.2	5.4	9.0	7.8
White Collar	0.6	0.0	2.6	3.0
Managerial	1.2	0.0	1.0	0.0
Businessman	0.6	0.0	1.0	1.2
Farmer	0.0	0.0	4.6	5.4
Professional	0.6	0.0	0.8	0.0
Other	31.6	23.0	30.9	27.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(167)	(390)	(74)	(166)

Table 14, however, treats miners as a separate category and shows the kind of occupation migrants in Cleveland had in West Virginia before they left the state. As this table indicates, the majority of the respondents were coal miners. In fact, in the suburbs almost one in three (32.4 percent) of the respondents were miners. This proportion is higher than that of the ghetto where about one in four respondents were miners when in West Virginia. Of the remaining listed categories, unskilled and semiskilled include the largest proportions of respondents. About one in five were unskilled and one in six semi-skilled, and only about one in twenty were skilled for both migrant groups.

Considering how that one in three (32.2 percent, Table 13) among the suburbanites are skilled, it becomes apparent that by far the majority of them have acquired their skill in the places where they migrated. In general, then, one may say that the occupational and in turn socio-economic advancement of these migrants in the city is attained previously by acquiring technical skill and in turn, at least for certain cases, by acquiring managerial positions. It is most probable, and in spite of the value of technical experience which successful West Virginia migrants hold, that most children of these migrants will have comparatively a much wider spectrum of opportunity for ascending the socioeconomic ladder.

Area of Migration and Length of Employment. Table 15 shows some of the places outside of West Virginia, including Cleveland, where returned migrants first went. Three-fourths (73.7 percent) of the migrants went to places other than the large cities where West Virginians are known to settle. The majority of the respondents (8.5 percent) have gone first to Cumberland, Maryland, which is very close to two of the counties (Mineral and Hardy)

Table 15: City Where Respondent First Worked Outside of West Virginia for Returned Migrant, for Matched and Total Groups

City	Returned Migrant	
	Total Group	Matched Group
Cumberland	8.5	4.1
Baltimore	5.9	8.1
Washington	3.0	1.3
Philadelphia	0.8	2.6
New York	0.8	0.0
Cleveland	3.8	6.8
Cincinnati	1.3	1.4
Chicago	2.2	2.7
Other	73.7	73.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(236)	(74)

Table 16: Length of First Job Outside West Virginia for Returned Migrants, for Matched and Total Groups.

Duration	Returned Migrant	
	Total Group	Matched Group
6 mo. or less	22.7	26.2
7 mo. - 1 yr.	17.0	15.4
1 - 3 yr.	25.5	24.6
3 or more yr.	34.8	33.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(229)	(65)

where the sample has been collected. Taking this as an indicator, we might say that, in general, the closer the city the more it will attract the migrant for his first visit. Studies of characteristics of people who migrate to different distances indicate that the more educated usually go farther away, or, otherwise, work-educated migrants use wider areas in order to find the type of job they are looking for.

Table 16 shows the duration of the first visit of the returned migrants, indicating that approximately forty percent stayed in the host city less than a year. Of this number 27.7 percent stayed six months or less but on the other hand, 34.8 percent of the returned migrants during their first visit stayed three or more years. Attributes of those who stay shorter periods of time will be examined in a different paper in the future.

Table 17 shows the time spent by returned migrants in work outside of Appalachia, indicating that about one-third spent one year or less and another third two to four years. Only 12.0 percent have spent more than ten years out of Appalachia. These are primarily people who came to West Virginia to retire. Further analysis of these data, however, will deal with characteristics and possibly reasons for different duration of stay outside Appalachia.

Table 18 shows the number of times returned migrants worked outside the state of West Virginia indicating that 62.0 percent worked only one time outside of the state; 32.7 percent, two to three times; and only 1.4 percent worked six or more times.

Table 19 shows the year returned migrants first worked outside of West Virginia indicating that 47.4 percent first worked out of the state before 1945. The remaining returned migrants first worked out of the state at about equal proportions during the remaining years from 1953 to 1965.

Table 17: Time Spent in Work Outside the Appalachian Region for Returned Migrant, for Matched and Total Groups.

Years	Returned Migrant	
	Total Group	Matched Group
One or less	34.1	35.4
2 - 4	34.1	32.7
5 - 10	19.8	23.3
10 or more	12.0	8.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(167)	(56)

Table 18: Number of Times Respondent Worked out of the State Altogether for Returned Migrant, for Matched and Total Groups.

Times	Returned Migrant	
	Total Group	Matched Group
One	62.0	69.9
2-3	32.7	19.9
4-5	3.9	2.7
6 or more	1.4	7.5
Total Percent	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(235)	(69)

Table 19: Year that Respondent First Worked Outside of West Virginia for Returned Migrant, for Matched and Total Groups.

Years	Returned Migrant	
	Total Group	Matched Group
1960 - 1965	15.7	28.4
1953 - 1959	17.8	24.3
1945 - 1952	19.1	19.0
Before 1945	47.4	28.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(236)	(74)

Considering that approximately half of the present returned migrants first migrated before 1945, we should probably continue to expect returned migrants in the future from the "after 1945 period" which involved larger proportions of people. Table 1 shows that most returned migrants fell into the "40 to 50" and "50 to 60" years of age categories. It might be that when migrants reach this age, some either use the skill they have acquired in the city to find state jobs with a moderate income or, more usually, retire in their home state.

In discussing the differences in characteristics between ghetto and suburban residents, we speculated that although weekly wages were higher among ghetto residents, annual income was lower because, among other reasons, their jobs were not as steady as those in the suburbs. Table 20 supports this proposition indicating that 52.5 percent of the suburbanites had only one job since coming to Cleveland. The corresponding proportion for ghetto is 29.6 percent. On the other hand, 23.7 percent of the ghetto residents had four or more jobs since they had come to Cleveland, while among the suburban residents the corresponding proportion was 9.6 percent (Table 20). Ghetto residents, then, although newer in Cleveland, have changed more jobs. One possible reason for this frequent change and short job duration is the fact that there are less skilled workers among ghetto residents as compared to the suburbs. Another possible reason, of course, is formal education, which in this case, is probably related to skill. However, when the two groups were matched in terms of age and education, the number of skilled workers was much higher among suburbanites (35.4 against 13.0 percent of the ghetto, right side of Table 13). Other reasons, then, in addition to education are determining the work patterns of the two groups we are examining here. If in the pages which follow, no social or sociopsychological

Table 20: Number of Jobs Since First Coming to Cleveland for Ghetto and Suburbs; for Matched and Total Groups.

No. of Jobs	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburbs	Ghetto	Suburbs
One	29.6	52.5	27.1	55.4
Two	26.4	20.5	23.1	16.9
Three	20.4	17.4	16.3	18.7
4-5	13.0	6.2	14.9	4.8
6-8	4.9	2.1	8.1	3.0
9-15	3.8	0.8	5.4	0.6
More than 15	1.9	0.5	5.1	0.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(167)	(387)	(74)	(166)

characteristics are found to differentiate the two groups, one might speculate that the chance of initially acquiring a job in the right industry or chance of being involved in some training for acquiring a skill are crucial determinants of occupational and residential adjustment. But even if we find sociopsychological differences between the two groups, it might be that these differences are consequences of a stable and better jobs. (This, however, is not completely true, because differences in some more basic characteristics such as value orientations are not developed that easily).

In line with Table 20, Table 21 indicates that suburbanites stay much longer on a job than ghetto residents. As a matter of fact, 44.6 percent of the West Virginia suburbanites in Cleveland have held their present job for over ten years. The corresponding proportion for ghetto residents is 8.4 percent; among those, on the other hand, who have their jobs two years or less are 49.2 percent ghetto residents and only 14.9 percent suburbanites. Furthermore, 23.4 percent of the ghetto residents had their present job for less than six months while only 4.1 percent among the suburbanites held their jobs that short period of time.

Finally, Table 21 also shows the small proportion of unemployed among suburbanites (1.8 percent) as compared to unemployed in the ghetto (7.8 percent). The difference in unemployment rate, although slightly reduced, remains high when the two groups are matched in terms of age and education (right side of Table 21).

Length of time the present job held is probably related to duration of stay in Cleveland which is another characteristic differentiating the ghetto from the suburbs (Table 22). Fifty-nine percent of the suburbanites have been living in Cleveland for over eleven years while only 26.6 percent of the ghetto residents have lived in Cleveland that long. On the other

Table 21: Time Present Job Held for Cleveland Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups.

Time Job Held	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburbs	Ghetto	Suburbs
One month or less	7.8	1.0	5.4	1.2
6 months	15.6	3.1	12.2	1.2
6 months to a year	14.4	3.1	17.6	3.0
1 to 2 years	11.4	7.7	8.1	9.0
2 to 5 years	18.0	18.2	14.9	16.8
6 to 10 years	16.8	20.5	23.0	22.3
Over 10 years	8.4	44.6	12.2	44.6
Unemployed	7.8	1.8	6.8	1.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(167)	(390)	(74)	(166)

Table 22: Total Length of Time Lived in Cleveland for Ghetto and Suburbs; for Matched and Total Groups.

Length of Time	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburbs	Ghetto	Suburbs
3 mo. or less	3.6	0.3	2.7	0.6
6 mo. or less	5.2	0.5	4.1	0.6
6 mo. to 1 yr.	15.0	1.3	12.2	1.2
1-2 years	7.8	4.4	6.8	4.8
2-3 years	9.0	4.8	6.8	6.0
3-5 years	9.0	9.3	12.2	6.0
6-10 years	24.0	20.4	18.9	19.9
11-15 years	18.0	43.2	21.4	51.3
More than 15 yr.	8.4	15.8	14.9	9.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(167)	(387)	(74)	(166)

hand, 23.8 of the ghetto migrants have been living in Cleveland for less than a year and only 2.1 percent of the suburbanites have done so. Finally, the fact that only 0.8 percent of the residents of the suburbs as compared to 8.8 percent of these of the ghetto have lived in Cleveland less than six months indicates that few people go directly to the suburbs. As a matter of fact, at least ten times as many West Virginians go to the ghetto first as compared to the suburbs. The interstitial area might probably fall somewhere in the middle.

The above figures support some speculations concerning recent movements of migrants to the city and reject others. Migrants from West Virginia continue to move to the ghetto first; later when they probably have some skill and a steady job and income, they move to the suburbs. Those who go directly to the suburbs probably have members of their families residing there and are primarily single individuals who can easily become attached to the family of relatives. On the other hand, it is probable that many families located in the suburbs help relatives or friends settle in the ghetto first, and then help them move out to the suburbs. Of course, this is probably done after they find a relatively steady job and save enough for down-payments for the new suburban home. In total, then, the hypothesis that more and more Appalachians move with the help of the stem family directly from West Virginia to the suburbs is not completely supported by the present data. After examining employment patterns let us look at the four groups from the point of view of unemployment and the type of assistance those unemployed receive.

Unemployment and Assistance. Table 23 shows the large proportion of unemployed in West Virginia as compared to Cleveland. One in four male

Table 23: Employed and Unemployed for Non-Migrant, Returned Migrant, Ghetto and Suburb for Matched and Total Groups.

Employed or not	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Yes	74.8	73.2	91.0	97.9	91.6	91.9	91.8	97.5
No	25.2	26.8	9.0	2.1	8.4	8.1	8.2	2.5
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(896)	(235)	(166)	(381)	(166)	(74)	(73)	(162)

Table 24: Unemployed and Retired for Non-Migrant, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Matched and Total Groups.

Not Working	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Unemployed but not retired	34.0	34.9	100.0	75.0	92.8	83.3	83.3	100.0
Retired	66.0	65.1	0.0	25.0	7.2	16.7	16.7	0.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(226)	(63)	(13)	(8)	(14)	(6)	(6)	(4)

adults is either unemployed or retired in West Virginia, (25.2 and 26.8 percent unemployed among the non-migrants and returned migrants, respectively). The proportion of unemployed or retired among the ghetto residents is 9.0 percent and for the suburbs 2.1 percent. When, however, the four groups are matched in terms of education and age (right side of Table 23) non-migrants, returned migrants, and Cleveland ghetto have the same proportion of unemployed, a little over eight percent. Suburbs again have the lowest proportion of unemployed, 2.5 percent. Because among the Cleveland migrants and in particular in the suburbs there are very few retired people, the proportions on the right side of Table 23 represent to a very large extent individuals of the ages between 20 and 50.

Table 24 shows the proportion of unemployed and retired among our four groups indicating that there are no retired people in the ghetto but a little over nine percent unemployed. Among 381 suburbanites only two are retired. On the other hand, close to about one in four among non-migrants and returned migrants are either retired or unemployed. In both these groups there are about twice as many retired as there are unemployed who are not retired.

Table 25 shows the proportion of unemployed who receive assistance of some sort. Excluding the suburbs which include very few unemployed among the other three groups, two out of three unemployed persons receive some kind of assistance. Table 26 is a crude table which will be analyzed further in a separate paper and gives some indications as to type of assistance respondents from the four groups receive. At least one bit of information which could be elicited from Table 26 is that only a very small proportion of the returned migrants receive any kind of financial assistance; this

Table 25: Assistance Received for Non-Migrant, Returned Migrant, Ghetto and Suburb for Total and Matched Groups.

Receive Assistance	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Yes	76.6	68.2	66.7	83.3	76.9	40.0	40.0	75.0
No.	23.4	31.8	33.3	16.7	23.1	60.0	60.0	25.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(77)	(22)	(15)	(6)	(13)	(5)	(5)	(4)

Table 26: Type of Assistance Received by Unemployed but not Retired for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total Groups.

Type of Assistance Received	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Unemployment Compensation	11.1	10.0	0.0	16.7
Welfare	11.1	10.0	14.3	0.0
Child support	8.9	10.0	0.0	0.0
Assistance from Family	15.6	20.0	0.0	16.7
Assistance from Others	0.0	0.0	14.3	50.0
Two of above*	11.1	0.0	14.3	16.6
Three of above*	0.0	0.0	14.3	0.0
Food Stamps	2.2	10.0	28.5	0.0
Disability	---	---	---	---
Other	40.0	40.0	14.3	0.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(45)	(10)	(7)	(6)

*Individuals receiving assistance from two or three of the above sources.

information is in conflict with the popular belief that returned migrants usually become welfare recipients.

In general, the information which has been presented under this sub-heading has shown that in terms of type of occupation and employment conditions our four groups show some distinct differences. These differences examined along with income differences could offer clues as to the reasons why people migrate, patterns of employment which migration helps develop and, in turn, patterns of adjustment of migrants to the new society.

In summary, much of the data which are presented under this sub-heading, show that in terms of occupational distrubution skill is an attribute which strongly differentiates each of the four groups: returned migrants have the largest proportion of unskilled workers (29.8 percent), ghetto residents have by far the largest proportion of semi-skilled (62.7 percent) and suburbs the largest proportion of skilled workers (32.2 percent). In addition, when the four groups are matched in terms of age and education. there are more than twice as many unskilled among non-migrants and also returned migrants as compared to the Cleveland ghetto and suburbs. Furthermore, there are about three times as many skilled in the suburbs as compared to each of the other three groups. Skill, which appears to be a strong differentiating factor among the four groups we are treating here, is an attribute which is acquired in the city; only 4.2 percent of the respondents from the ghetto and 5.4 percent of those from the suburbs were skilled when in West Virginia.

Concerning employment suburbanites are more stable than ghetto residents; 52.5 percent of the suburbanites had only one job since arriving in Cleveland while only 29.6 percent of the ghetto residents had only one job since

arriving in Cleveland. Furthermore, suburbanites have been in Cleveland longer than ghetto residents because 44.6 percent of them have been there more than ten years. Only 8.4 percent of the ghetto residents have lived that long in Cleveland.

The proportion of unemployed or retired is much lower in Cleveland as compared to West Virginia for suburbs, ghetto, returned migrants and non-migrants; the corresponding proportions are 2.1, 9.0, 26.8 and 25.2 percent respectively. Of the unemployed in West Virginia both among non-migrants and returned migrants about two-thirds are retired and one-third are actually unemployed. When, the groups are matched in terms of age and education, only the suburbs retain their low unemployment rate, 2.5 percent. In the other three groups this proportion becomes a little over eight percent.

Visiting and Settlement Patterns of West Virginians in Cleveland.

Migration usually involves disruption of social and, in particular, kinship and friendship relationships, in addition to deprivation of a familiar culture. Depending on the degree of deprivation from such aspects of life and the psychological potential for adjustment, the rural migrant in the city employs various social mechanisms for reducing the impact of this deprivation and strain. Some of these mechanisms deal with the re-establishment of periodic interaction patterns with old acquaintances, kin and people sharing similar past experiences. Some migrants return to their old communities for semi-temporary resettlement, others simply visit their communities or have relatives visit them at certain time intervals; others settle with other West Virginians or Appalachians, and still others practice a combination of these things. Let us look first at what might be called a temporary return to Appalachia.

Visiting Patterns. Table 27 shows that 61.1 percent of the ghetto residents and 78.0 percent of the suburbanites have at some time returned to West Virginia for a limited amount of time or for temporary resettlement. The higher proportion of suburbanites who have returned to West Virginia for such a purpose might be explained as due to the fact that there are fewer newcomers in this group, or that they have acquired some skill which they could use in West Virginia.

Table 28 shows the number of times returnees from ghetto and suburbs have come to West Virginia for such semi-temporary settlement. Almost three-fourths of these returnees have only returned once. However, a little less than ten percent have returned four times or more. The differences in the two groups, ghetto and suburbs, are not wide, but when the groups are matched (right side of Table 28), suburbanites appear to return for temporary resettlement less often. This remains the case, inspite of the fact that they have been in Cleveland longer. It is quite probable that in the unmatched groups of Table 28 suburbanites are shown to return for a temporary resettlement more often because they have larger proportions of individuals in the over 30 age groups (Table 1). It is felt that older individuals usually feel a stronger attachment to the old relationships and culture.

During their first temporary resettlement in West Virginia the majority of the returnees stayed less than a year (Table 29). Furthermore, 40.3 percent of ghetto returnees and 20.8 percent of the suburban returnees stayed in West Virginia less than six months. However, one-fourth of the returnees from both groups stayed one to five years before they left West Virginia again, and only 5.3 percent of ghetto returnees and 15.8 percent of suburban returnees stayed, during their first temporary resettlement, more than five years in West Virginia.

Table 27: Return to West Virginia or Otherwise Since Left for Ghetto and Suburbs for Matched and Total Groups.

Returned Yes or No	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburbs	Ghetto	Suburbs
No	38.9	22.0	47.3	22.8
Yes	61.1	78.0	52.7	77.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(167)	(381)	(74)	(162)

Table 28: Number of Times Returned to West Virginia for Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups.

Times Returned	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburbs	Ghetto	Suburbs
1	70.3	76.5	67.6	82.9
2	14.1	12.9	14.7	8.6
3	7.8	1.2	5.9	0.0
4-5	4.7	3.5	5.9	5.7
6 or more	3.1	5.9	5.9	2.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(64)	(85)	(34)	(35)

Table 29: Length of Last Stay in West Virginia for Ghetto and Suburbs; Both Matched and Total Groups.

Length of Stay	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburb	Ghetto	Suburb
1-6 mo.	40.3	20.8	45.1	21.9
6 mo. - 1 yr.	26.4	32.8	35.5	39.0
1-2 yr.	11.1	19.8	12.9	12.3
2-5 yr.	16.7	8.9	12.1	9.8
5-10 yr.	1.2	6.9	0.0	7.3
10-15 yr.	4.3	8.9	6.4	7.3
15 yr. or more	0.0	1.9	0.0	2.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(72)	(101)	(31)	(41)

Another means of satisfying desires for renewal of old relationships and also for making the adjustment to the city easier is visiting old communities in West Virginia or having relatives and friends visit migrant homes. Table 30 shows that less than one in ten of the respondents do not visit relatives in West Virginia during a year. But three-fourths do visit one to six times a year while 11.0 percent of the ghetto residents and 3.6 percent of the suburbanites visit in West Virginia ten or more times a year.

Recriprocating relatives also visit migrants in Cleveland but not as often. Among the ghetto residents 63.2 percent and among the suburbanites 82.9 percent have relatives from West Virginia visiting them (Table 31). The majority of migrants (about half) have relatives visiting them 1 to 3 times a year. In addition, close to one-fifth of the Cleveland-West Virginians have relatives visiting them more than four times a year. However, 36.8 percent of the ghetto residents, who are newer in Cleveland, and 17.1 percent of the suburbanites do not have any relatives from West Virginia visiting them. In most cases and, in particular, among the suburbanites these respondents do not have any relatives left in West Virginia.

Considering the extent of visits and temporary settlement of migrants to their old communities and the extent of visits of relatives to Cleveland one can realize, first, the extent of interaction between people in the rural community and the city, and second, the extent of information which is disseminated into the rural community during the process. Furthermore, it can be noted that this information is disseminated through ideal conditions because it is transmitted by people who in most cases are relatives and have relatively similar cultural backgrounds.

Table 30: Number of Times Per Year Respondents Visit West Virginia for Ghetto and Suburbs for Matched and Total Groups.

Times Per Year	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburb	Ghetto	Suburb
None	9.1	7.3	5.5	4.3
1	25.0	27.5	21.9	28.0
2-3	25.6	34.5	28.8	36.6
4-6	23.2	22.7	30.1	23.8
7-10	6.1	4.4	5.5	4.3
10 +	11.0	3.6	8.2	3.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(164)	(385)	(73)	(164)

Table 31: Number of Times Per Year that Respondent has Relatives from West Virginia Visiting Him--for Ghetto and Suburbs for Matched and Total Groups.

Number of Times of Visit	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburb	Ghetto	Suburb
None	36.8	17.1	34.3	17.0
1	25.2	32.3	21.9	36.0
2-3	23.3	30.7	26.0	28.0
4-5	10.4	11.5	13.7	11.6
6-10	0.6	4.7	1.4	3.7
more than 10	3.7	3.7	2.7	3.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(163)	(381)	(73)	(164)

Mass media, TV, in particular, and formal education are two powerful agents of dissemination of information helping the incorporation of the rural community into the mass society. Migration through the visiting and temporary settlement patterns which we described above also helps the dissemination of information, but, in addition, it involves interaction between the members of the two systems, rural and urban. Interaction and communication, in turn, are the two main processes which help the creation of new social systems or the weakening of old ones. One such new system is the new mass society which is more than ever incorporating rural communities and even the lower socioeconomic strata of the city.

Both mass media and visiting help the rural residents become familiar with the urban culture, and, thus, create desires for possession of cultural items or styles of life which often cannot be attained because of lack of appropriate means, employment, in particular. But what is noticeable in the case of visiting is that the rural residents through this formal exchange acquire additional and more explicit knowledge as to the function of the new cultural items and style of life, and second, acquire information as to securing means for acquiring the desired cultural items. The latter refers to the acquisition of information about jobs, knowledge of requirements, and needed preparation before applying for a job or moving to the city. Visiting, then, is not only a means of facilitating adjustment of the migrant, but it is most probably also a very effective means of helping the adjustment of future migrants and, finally, of helping the incorporation of rural communities into the mass society. Furthermore, because of its nature the incorporation facilitated through visiting may create less discrepancy and conflict than incorporation facilitated through mass media.

Settlement Patterns. Table 32 shows the proportion of close relatives of migrants still living in West Virginia indicating that suburbanites have a much lower proportion of their relatives still living in West Virginia as compared to the ghetto residents. As a matter of fact, one-fourth of the suburbanites do not have any close relatives in West Virginia, and only 15.8 percent have more than half of their relatives there. On the other hand, 51.5 percent of the ghetto residents have over half of their relatives back home. These differences between the two groups disappear when the groups are matched (right side of Table 32). In other words, among people of the same age and possibly education there are no differences between the ghetto and suburbs as to the number of close relatives they have back home. Considering however, that the suburbanites are older, have been living in Cleveland longer, and have fewer relatives in West Virginia, one could speculate that as migrants become more established in the city they tend to bring their relatives there. As previously discussed, most probably these relatives first go to places other than the suburbs. Furthermore, we could also speculate that ghetto residents or newer migrants will also bring their relatives to the city; out-migration, then, at least from this point of view, will continue.

Above we have discussed visiting as a means of helping adjustment of migrants in the city through the reconstruction of old familiar interaction patterns. Next we will discuss interaction patterns with West Virginians in Cleveland which can also be seen as a means of helping adjustment in the city. Forty-four percent of the ghetto residents and 50.5 percent of the suburbanites have at least one to five fellow West Virginians living within a radius of 100 yards from them (Table 33). In Brunswick, a suburb of West Cleveland, in particular, more than half of the residents are West Virginians.

Table 32: Proportion of Close Relatives Living in West Virginia for Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups.

Percent of Relatives	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburb	Ghetto	Suburb
100%	15.6	2.7	18.9	17.7
75%	35.9	13.1	32.4	32.3
50%	21.6	20.8	18.9	29.2
26-50%	10.2	18.1	8.1	8.5
1-25%	12.0	19.4	14.9	8.5
0%	4.7	25.9	6.8	3.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(163)	(381)	(73)	(164)

Table 33: Number of West Virginia Families Living Within a Radius of 100 Yards of Home for Ghetto and Suburbs for Matched and Total Groups.

Number of Families	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburb	Ghetto	Suburb
None	4.8	25.4	2.7	25.9
1-5	44.3	50.5	51.4	55.4
6-10	9.0	7.7	6.8	4.8
11-20	8.4	0.8	6.8	0.6
21-50	3.0	0.8	4.1	0.6
50 or more	0.6	0.0	1.4	0.0
Don't know	29.9	14.8	26.8	12.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(167)	(390)	(74)	(166)

Table 34: Proportion of Close Relatives Living in Cleveland for Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups.

Percent of Relatives	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburb	Ghetto	Suburb
100%	5.4	2.7	8.0	3.2
75%	10.8	13.0	12.2	12.0
50%	18.7	20.8	17.6	24.1
26-50%	12.7	18.1	12.2	22.2
1-25%	31.9	19.5	31.1	17.1
0%	20.5	25.9	18.9	21.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(163)	(381)	(73)	(164)

Still 23.4 of all suburbanites and 4.8 percent of the ghetto residents do not know of any West Virginians living within a radius of 100 yards from them.

Noticeable among ghetto residents is the fact that close to thirty percent of the respondents do not know whether there are any West Virginians near them. This, in turn, indicates that these people do not know who their neighbors are; however, only half as many suburbanites do not know who their neighbors are. Due to the ecological attributes of the Appalachian ghetto and the fact that many of the migrants have just arrived, there is less contact among neighbors. This, however, is not always true when one compared city ghettos with suburbs in general.

Almost four out of five West Virginians in Cleveland have relatives in the city (Table 34), while about half of them have over one-fourth of their relatives there. Some of the migrants (5.4 and 2.7 percent for ghetto and suburbs, respectively) have all their relatives in Cleveland; in this aspect, then, there does not seem to exist patterned differences between ghetto and suburbs.

In discussing Table 32 we indicated that ghetto residents have more relatives in Cleveland as compared to the suburbs. A larger proportion of ghetto residents, 59.0 percent, Table 35, are people who would also like to retire in West Virginia; the corresponding proportion for the suburbs is 42.3 percent. On the other hand, twice as many suburbanites (13.3 versus 23.3 percent) would like to retire in Cleveland itself. Concerning Florida, Arizona, and Colorado which are places where some West Virginians have already retired, 13.1 percent of ghetto residents and 22.8 percent of the suburbanites would like to retire there. As was the case with other aspects of life, in terms of retirement, suburbanites

Table 35: Place of Desired Future Retirement for Cleveland Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups.

Place of Future Retirement	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburb	Ghetto	Suburb
West Virginia	59.0	42.3	59.5	45.8
Cleveland	13.3	23.3	10.8	16.3
Florida, Arizona, Colorado	15.1	22.8	13.4	22.3
Other	12.7	11.6	16.3	15.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(875)	(232)	(166)	(75)

follow more the national patterns or appear to be more cosmopolitan than ghetto residents.

Patterns of Association. Let us turn now to another aspect of social relationships to see how many of the friendship relations of migrants are with West Virginians like themselves. Table 36 shows that two-thirds of the ghetto residents have as their first, second, and third best friends people from West Virginia. Among the suburbanites the corresponding proportion for first, second, and third closest friend are only 49.5, 43.4, and 37.6 percent, respectively. Suburbanites, on the other hand, have a larger proportion of first, second, and third best friends from other Appalachian states,but the difference between the two groups is most pronounced in relation to non-Appalachian friends. Suburbanites have about a third of their first, second and third best friends among non-Appalachians, while only about a fifth of ghetto residents have close friends who are not Appalachians.

In terms of relationships, the difference in the frequency of having friends coming from the same area between the two groups becomes more clear in Table 37. In this table a score of four is given for best friend being a West Virginian, three-second best friend in West Virginia, and two-third best friend from West Virginia; a score of three, two and one is given for gradients in friendship from Appalachia; and a score of zero is given for Cleveland friends. Table 37, then, shows that among those who have high scores, or in other words, have more close friends coming from the area of origin, 43.7 percent are ghetto residents and only 17.2 are suburbnites. The opposite is true for those who have low scores; in this group 30.9 percent are suburbanites,and only 21.5 percent ghetto residents have low scores.

Table 36: Origin of First, Second and Third Best Friend in Cleveland for Ghetto and Suburbs.

Origin of Friends	Ghetto			Suburbs		
	First	Second	Third	First	Second	Third
From West Virginia	66.7	62.0	62.0	49.5	43.4	37.6
From Other Appalachian States	12.7	16.5	20.3	18.5	23.6	22.8
Non-Appalachians	20.6	21.5	17.7	32.0	33.0	39.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(163)	(163)	(163)	(376)	(376)	(376)

Table 37: Friendship Scale Indicating Association with Own People in Cleveland for Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups.

Frequency of Association with Own People	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburbs	Ghetto	Suburbs
High	43.7	17.2	43.3	21.7
Medium	34.8	51.9	39.3	49.4
Low	21.5	30.9	17.4	28.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(163)	(376)	(74)	(163)

From this point of view, then, it again appears that suburbanites have wider horizons of contacts, and are more cosmopolitan as compared to the ghetto residents; however, one should keep in mind that there are more newcomers who usually prefer to associate with their own people, among the ghetto residents.

Attitudes Toward Progress and Achievement.

Attitudes are predispositions to action and criteria for making choices in life. Attitudes are not measured but are inferred from concrete responses to specific situations natural or contrived. Thus, we infer a favorable attitude toward a particular type of behavior when a person responds favorably to a series of questions regarding the value or worthiness of this particular type of behavior. A number of questions have been asked here to measure the respondents' attitudes toward behavior having direct implication for exploring aspects of social change and migration. These attitudes deal with progress and achievement.

Attitudes Toward Progress. Attitudes toward progress are measured with four questions which refer to the respondents' evaluation of past, present, and future forms of our culture on the basis of their suitability for offering a happy life, (Table 38). Respondents have been asked to indicate whether they strongly agree, agree, are undecided, disagree, or strongly disagree with these four attitude statements.

The majority of respondents either moderately or strongly agree with the statement that "life is better now than it was in any previous period of time." Among suburbanites, the proportion of respondents who feel this way is 66.9 percent (Table 38), the highest among the four groups. The lowest proportion of respondents who strongly or moderately agree with this

Table 38: Questions and Scale Concerned with Attitudes Toward Progress for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburb, for Matched and Total Groups.

Degree of Agreement	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Question: Life is better now than it was in any previous period of time.								
St., mod. agr.	59.0	49.6	55.1	66.9	49.1	54.8	50.0	63.8
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	24.8	25.0	27.3	16.6	32.9	21.9	27.0	17.4
St., mod. dis.	16.2	25.4	17.6	16.5	18.0	23.3	23.0	18.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(873)	(236)	(165)	(386)	(161)	(73)	(74)	(166)
Question: New things are better than old things.								
St., mod. agr.	47.3	51.5	55.4	51.9	44.8	52.0	57.4	51.2
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	34.6	30.4	32.5	29.0	39.8	27.4	26.6	28.9
St., mod. dis.	18.1	18.1	12.1	19.1	15.4	20.6	16.0	19.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(871)	(237)	(166)	(387)	(161)	(73)	(75)	(166)
Question: The future is sure to make a better place in which to live.								
St., mod. agr.	53.1	59.7	60.5	52.0	49.7	62.2	66.2	55.8
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	30.2	29.2	30.9	30.0	32.5	32.4	25.3	26.7
St., mod. dis.	16.7	11.1	8.6	18.0	17.8	5.4	8.5	17.5
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(870)	(233)	(162)	(386)	(163)	(74)	(71)	(165)
Question: With the possible exception of medical discoveries, progress is actually making peoples' lives miserable.								
St., mod. agr.	19.2	20.6	16.8	32.4	22.0	24.1	19.2	34.1
Sl. agr. sl. dis.	22.8	23.4	37.8	22.7	22.1	22.6	36.9	23.8
St., mod. dis.	58.0	56.0	45.4	44.9	55.9	53.3	43.9	42.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(880)	(239)	(161)	(383)	(163)	(75)	(73)	(164)
Attitude Toward Progress Scale								
High (24-28)	31.9	29.2	33.1	21.3	26.6	28.2	35.2	16.2
Med. (20-23)	28.2	30.0	30.6	33.2	28.5	26.8	22.5	40.5
Low (4-19)	39.9	40.8	36.3	45.5	44.9	45.0	42.3	43.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(851)	(230)	(157)	(389)	(158)	(71)	(71)	(166)

statement, 49.6 percent, belongs to the group of returned migrants who, as previously shown, have the lowest level of living of the four. Partly because of cultural emphasis, level of living, superficially, seems to be the criterion which these people and probably the largest proportion of Americans use to determine the goodness of their life. Probably depending on the personality organization of the individual, the way an individual psychologically feels often becomes the main criterion telling him how good his life is regardless of what his level of living is. As shown in the responses of the fourth question of Table 38 which suggests that "with the possible exception of medical discoveries progress is actually making people's lives miserable," the group which has the highest proportion of respondents who either strongly or moderately agree with this statement, 32.4 percent, are the suburbanites. The two groups in West Virginia, in contrast, have the larger proportion of respondents who strongly or moderately disagree with the statement that progress is making people's life miserable. These proportions are 58.0 and 56.9 percent for non-migrants and returned migrants, respectively. In other words, the majority of suburbanites live in a "nicer" area than the majority of the people in the other three groups and have a higher level of living than the other three groups, but, in spite of this, more suburbanites, as compared to the other groups, feel that progress is making life miserable.

Considering that suburbanites were coal miners or semi-skilled or unskilled before they came to Cleveland and, as previous data have shown, have acquired some skill in order to join what might be the lower-middle or upper-lower urban middle class, one would suspect that they must have gone through considerable strain and frustration in order to reach this point.

This kind of strain, then, might have influenced their outlook of progress. Furthermore, this strain is probably stronger among those who live in the suburbs, because they have to keep up with its level of living but have neither the skill nor the income others have. The high proportion of suburbanites, then, who have strongly or moderately agreed with the four statements of Table 38 might come from this latter group. In general, however, concerning respondents from the other three groups, almost one in five strongly or moderately agree with the statement that modern life is making life miserable. Theoretical interpretations of such feeling point to the disequilibrium between culture, social system, and personality which the new changes initiate. New discoveries include highways, hard surface roads, automobiles, television, and a whole array of technological items which have made the old rural social system lose its semi-autonomy and start responding more and more to the expectations of the mass society. The presence of these West Virginia migrants in the suburbs is an example of the desire of these people to meet the new standard in spite of the fact that there is often considerable pain in attaining these standards and doubt concerning the worth of modern life.

About half of the respondents in all four groups strongly or moderately agree with the second statement that new things are better than old things; however, a little less than one in five either strongly or moderately disagree with this statement. More people in the suburbs (19.1 percent) who, as we previously pointed out, have more new things, disagree with this statement than ghetto residents (12.1 percent) who have less. Again and in line with our previous discussion, it would be worthwhile to further examine the characteristics and test hypotheses dealing with the reasons

some of these people like old things better. Is it because new things are disturbing people's lives more, is it nostalgia of the past and the old Appalachian way of life, in particular, or are there other reasons?

The third question of Table 38 refers to faith in the future. In all four groups the majority of respondents feel that "the future is sure to make a better place in which to live"; but again the lowest proportion of respondents who strongly or moderately agree with this statement, 52.0 percent, are the suburbanites. Furthermore, suburbanites have the largest proportion (18.0 percent of respondents who either strongly or moderately disagree with this statement). Quite probably some of these differences are not statistically significant at this point at the five percent level, but overall, the pattern of the data is relatively indicative of the direction of the relationship.

Finally, the scale which measures attitudes toward progress in general clearly indicates the less favorable attitudes of the suburbanites, who from the point of view of overt behavior appear to be the opposite of the most favorable disposed toward progress. Only 21.3 percent of the suburbanites have high scores in this scale while the corresponding proportion for the other three groups is 31.9, 29.2 and 33.1 percent. The last figure, which is the highest, is the proportion of ghetto residents who live in an environment which does not place heavy demands on its occupants but allows them to see that future opportunities can be found not very far from where they are; this is the same relationship as found in suburbia but with reverse proportions.

Achievement Orientation. Achievement orientation is measured with seve attitude type questions implying primarily socioeconomic achievement, althoun some individual questions imply achievement in general. Progress

and achievement are treated under the same heading because both imply drive for betterment, and betterment, in this case, refers to improvement of the position of the individual or group in line with societal expectations which are not necessarily the same, at least not in all respects, as the expectations of the individual concerning his inner satisfaction and happiness. In other words, both this and the previous scale do not measure progress or achievement in terms of a style of life which would be in line with the nature of man but a style which would be desirable in terms of societal expectations.

Responses to the first question of Table 39 which suggest that "getting ahead is one of the most important things in life", indicates that, with the exception of suburbanites, the majority of respondents either strongly or moderately agree with this statement. Only one in five, and again with the exception of the group of suburbanites, strongly or moderately disagrees with the statement. But, again, and as was the case with attitudes toward progress, suburbanites, at least in terms of numbers, show weaker achievement orientation than the other three groups. In terms of this first question of Table 39 the difference is more pronounced when suburbanites are compared with ghetto residents; among ghetto residents 65.3 percent strongly or moderately agree that getting ahead is one of the most important things in life while among the suburbanites only 48.6 percent do so. In a similar fashion, the percentages of those who disagree with the statement are reversed--more suburbanites than ghetto residents disagree with this first statement; the corresponding proportions are 29.3 versus 17.3 percent.

However, the difference between the affluent suburbanites and the other three groups becomes more pronounced in the second question with more

Table 39: Questions and Scale for Achievement Motivation for Returned Migrants, Non-Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs; for Matched and Total Groups.

Degree of Agreement	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Question: Getting ahead is one of the most important things in life.								
St., mod. agree.	58.5	58.6	65.3	48.6	64.3	61.4	69.4	53.0
Sl. agr., sl. disagr.	21.0	17.2	17.4	22.1	24.3	17.3	18.6	25.3
St., mod. disagree.	20.5	24.2	17.3	29.3	11.4	21.3	12.0	21.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(887)	(239)	(167)	(389)	(165)	(75)	(75)	(166)
Question: A person's success is determined at birth, so he might as well accept it and not fight it.								
St., mod. agree.	12.9	14.8	15.6	30.7	10.4	9.3	13.4	33.1
Sl. agr., sl. disagr.	13.4	11.4	14.4	9.0	18.4	13.3	14.6	8.2
St., mod. disagr.	73.7	73.8	70.0	60.3	71.2	77.4	72.0	58.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(883)	(238)	(167)	(378)	(163)	(75)	(75)	(160)
Question: A person should spend a considerable amount of time thinking about improving his chances.								
St., mod. agree.	73.4	77.4	77.2	65.5	71.6	72.0	74.7	65.1
Sl. agr., sl. disagr.	19.1	15.5	17.4	24.7	18.2	21.4	20.0	26.5
St., mod. disagr.	7.5	7.1	5.4	9.8	10.2	6.6	5.3	8.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(884)	(239)	(167)	(388)	(165)	(75)	(75)	(166)
Question: Determination and ambition are two of the most important qualities.								
St., mod. agree.	87.2	89.2	80.3	86.3	86.7	93.4	78.7	86.1
Sl. agr., sl. disagr.	8.7	7.2	17.4	11.2	7.2	4.0	18.7	11.4
St., mod. disagr.	4.1	3.6	2.3	2.5	6.1	2.6	2.6	2.5
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(890)	(239)	(167)	(388)	(165)	(75)	(75)	(166)
Question: A person should be satisfied with his present opportunities.								
St., mod. agree.	19.4	21.8	29.7	25.3	21.2	21.4	26.7	26.2
Sl. agr., sl. disagr.	26.5	20.1	23.6	20.7	28.5	21.3	28.0	23.1
St., mod. disagr.	54.1	58.1	46.7	54.0	50.3	57.3	45.3	50.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(886)	(239)	(165)	(384)	(165)	(75)	(75)	(164)

Continued

Table 39: Continued.

Degree of Agreement	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Question: Children should be taught not to expect too much out of life.								
St., mod. agree.	34.4	41.1	41.5	27.8	35.9	36.0	39.2	30.5
Sl. agr., sl. disagr.	21.7	16.5	25.6	20.3	21.4	17.3	24.3	23.1
St., mod. disagr.	43.9	42.4	32.9	51.9	42.7	46.7	36.3	46.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(883)	(236)	(164)	(383)	(164)	(71)	(74)	(166)
Question: When a man is no longer anxious to do better than well, he is done for.								
St., mod. agree.	48.6	33.6	53.7	46.3	45.3	41.9	30.0	42.0
Sl. agr., sl. disagr.	28.1	19.2	25.6	26.6	30.9	26.4	23.7	27.1
St., mod. disagr.	23.3	27.2	20.7	27.1	23.6	33.7	26.3	30.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(887)	(239)	(164)	(387)	(163)	(74)	(74)	(166)
Achievement Motivation Scale:								
High (40-49)	33.4	26.6	21.3	22.9	24.4	41.9	20.1	22.9
Medium (35-39)	30.6	30.3	29.0	23.7	23.7	26.6	28.6	23.7
Low (7-34)	36.0	33.1	39.3	53.4	39.9	33.7	36.3	53.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(858)	(233)	(162)	(369)	(162)	(74)	(74)	(166)

than twice as many suburbanites agreeing strongly or moderately with a statement suggesting that "a person's success is determined at birth, so he might as well accept it and not fight it." This statement indicates fatalism which is often mentioned as one of the value orientations which keep rural Appalachians, in terms of achievement and level of living, behind the rest of the American society.[29] The difference between suburbanites and the other three groups becomes more pronounced when the four groups are matched in terms of age and education (right side of Table 39). In other words, what makes suburbanites different in terms of their sort of future is neither their education nor their age, but probably some sociopsychological attribute associated with or producing fatalistic social attitudes.

In fact, this same above question, which is very clear in terms of the concept it represents, has been also asked to three groups of teenagers in West Virginia: (1) a group of 4-H boys selected by their organization for training as leaders because of their performance in the organization, (2) a group of high school students from a rural county, and (3) a group of school dropouts.[30] In that study the corresponding proportions of youngsters who agree strongly or moderately with this same question are 32.4, 11.7, and 31.9 percent, respectively, for the above three groups. As a matter of fact, among those who only agree strongly, 71.0, 5.3, and 17.4, respectively, the difference is even more pronounced between high achievement oriented 4-H leaders and the other groups. Only 8.2 percent of the high

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[29] Ford, op. cit.

[30] Photiadis, Vargas, Unpublished results of Jackson's Mill Study, 1965, Division of Personal and Family Development, Behavioral Studies, West Virginia University.

achievement oriented youngsters disagree with a similar statement suggesting that "when a man is born the success he is going to have is already in the cards, so he might as well accept it."

This expressed lower achievement orientation among the affluent suburbanites and the 4-H leaders is also shown in the third question which suggests that "a person should spend a considerable amount of time thinking about improving his chances." However, in the fourth question, which suggests that "determination and ambition are two most important qualities", the differences in the four groups tend to disappear. Similarly, in all four groups more than four out of five of the respondents strongly or moderately disagree with the statement, " a person should be satisfied with his present opportunities." However, a higher proportion of ghetto residents agree with this statement (29.6 percent), and a lower proportion disagree (46.7 percent) although these differences become smaller when the four groups are matched. This trend in ghetto residents' responses may be plained by the fact that many of these people are newcomers and therefore, do not yet feel relatively deprived. These newcomers probably compare their income with that of people in their old communities, not with Cleveland, and, thus, place a higher value on achievement.

Between one-third and one-half of the respondents, excluding the suburbanites, strongly or moderately agree that "children should not be taught to expect too much from life." (Question 6, Table 39). Only 27.8 percent of the suburbanites strongly or moderately agree with this statement. Of the eight questions which we use here to measure achievement orientation only this question, which, incidentally, refers not to the respondents themselves but to their children, shows suburbanites indicating stronger achievement orientation than the other three groups. About half of the respondents strongly or moderately agree with the last question which

indicates that "when a man is no longer anxious to do better than well he is done for." Suburbanites have the lowest proportion of people who strongly or moderately agree with this statement, but the differences among the four groups are small.

Finally, the summary scale at the bottom of Table 39 shows more clearly what we have been discussing in the previous pages. Suburbanites have the lowest proportion (22.9 percent) of respondents who have high scores in the achievement orientation scale. On the other hand, returned migrants who have the highest proportion of older people and quite often the lowest income and level of living have the highest proportion (36.6 percent) of persons with favorable attitudes towards achievement. In fact, many returned migrants, who value achievement, have learned a skill outside of West Virginia and come back to practice it in this state. In addition, it has been shown elsewhere that although a number of returned migrants unable to cope with city life return home and often retreat from society, others become innovators of ideas and attitudes often pointing out to their friends and neighbors or co-workers the value of achievement orientation as practiced in urban centers.

Value Orientations

Value Orientations and Way of Life Preferances. Values, like attitudes, are predispositions to action and are criteria for making choices in life. Values are considered to be more basic aspects of personality and are more affectively charged criteria for making choices in life than attitudes. In fact, a number of attitudes usually stem out of a single value.

Different disciplines define values differently. Often values are defined as "modes of organizing conduct--wide meaningful, affectively invested pattern principles that guide human nature."[31] Or they can be seen as abstract normative standards which represent an individual's concept of what men ought to desire and of what is right or wrong. Obviously, there are degrees of desire and degrees of magnitude of right or proper. On the basis of these two functions of values one may develop what is often called value hierarchies. In other words, through some empirical means one decides the order of individual or social or cultural values. By definition cultural values are those values which are shared by all; however, social values, although like cultural values in some respects, are more or less goals of personal behavior in social interaction and are essential to the welfare of a group of people as a whole. Individuals see the world through lenses compounded of particular combinations of values. Therefore, people respond in different ways and in accordance with the particular combination of values they possess. The same could be said of groups, including those we are examining in the present study.

Individuals exhibit preferential behavior on the basis of their own hierarchy of value orientations. Groups, such as those we use here, do so when viewed in an abstract manner on the basis of the profile of the values they share. Because of this preferential behavior or presence of a hierarchy of values, researchers often use the forced choice technique which, in order to establish a hierarchy, requires selection from alternatives.

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31 Robin Williams, The American Society, New York: Afred A. Knopf, Inc., 1954, p. 375.

However, due to many methodological[32] and conceptual[33] problems, the measurement and, in turn, the ranking of values become difficult and time consuming. Such treatment becomes, in particular, difficult in cases where values do not constitute a problematic variable. In such cases, when applicable, "way of life preferences" might be used instead as in the present study. Here, on the basis of a review of relevant literature, values mentioned as characteristic of Appalachia are expressed with statements depicting a way of life in line with the particular value. For instance, familism and achievement are two values which are often mentioned in rural Appalachian literature as characteristic of Appalachia (the former as more intensely and the latter as less intensely held in comparison to the value orientations of the larger American society). Statements referring to a way of life emphasizing family or achievement, for example, have been constructed and respondents were asked to rank them according to their preference. Three batteries of nine such statements each were used in this study to determine three hierarchies of "way of life preference" of each of our four groups.

Appendix A shows the three sets of nine questions which were used to measure nine different "way of life preferences". Appendix B is a similar table, but, in this case, the four groups have been matched in terms of age and education.

"Way of life preferences" as used here do not measure values, as such, but preferential behavior patterns which might imply the nature of the

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[32] See "Some Methodological Problems in the Empirical Study of Values", Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington, Bulletin 672, 1966.

[33] Robin Williams, "Value Orientation in American Society," The American Society, New York: Afred A. Knopf, Inc., 1954, Chapter 11.

underlined value orientation. Such indications, of course, are not expected to definitely exist for all nine values we use here because "way of life preferences" shift faster than more basic personality predispositions such as what we define as values. Societal themes, for instance, widely exposed by mass media and extensive contacts with members of the larger society may overshadow social values of a subgroup. This has often occurred in recent years particularly when the performance of the subgroup has not been, to an even greater extent, in line with societal expectations. Often societal themes which are in conflict with values of the subgroup can initiate behavior which can lead the group to deviancy or apathy or even retreat and closer attachment to the old value. Typical, here, is the case of rural Appalachians who have attempted unsuccessfully to adopt and implement life patterns which modern mass media and mass contacts advocate.

The nine "way of life preferences" which are measured here (with the use of responses to three questions of each way of life) refer to styles of life emphasizing religion, family, education, work, friendship, material conveniences, achievement, recreation, and outdoor living. Respondents were asked to rank the nine questions of each set with the assistance of small cards on which the particular statements were typed. Three such sets of nine cards each were given to each respondent who was to rank the nine questions of each set according to his preference. After the end of the interview the interviewer recorded on the questionnaire the rank the respondent had given to each statement. In the analysis of data a score of nine was given to the question which was ranked first, and one to the question which was ranked ninth. Thus, for each way of life the maximum score a respondent might have was 27 (3 x 9) and the minimum 3 (3 x 1).

Ranking of Way of Life Preference for Each of the Four Groups. Table 40 shows for each way of life preference the proportion of respondents who had high, medium, and low scores. Outdoor living seems to be most important for the returned migrants of whom 42.5 percent have high scores (scores varying from 15 to 27), which consequently, could be one of the reasons these people returned to West Virginia.

Preference for living the life of an educated man (second question of Table 40) seems to be more desired by those who reside in the state of West Virginia, in other words, non-migrants and returned migrants. Twice as many people (30.0 and 26.6 percent) in these two groups have high scores as compared to the two Cleveland groups. These two groups have also higher scores as compared to the two Cleveland groups in the scale which measures attitudes toward education, in general, (Table 5), but in that table the difference is pronounced only when compared with the group of suburbanites who value technical training more than academic training. Other studies of attitudes of West Virginians toward education also indicate quite favorable attitudes, but such attitudes can be interpreted as merely "lip service"; because, for example, referendums to increase taxes for education in this state continuously fail. However, favorable attitudes of West Virginians toward education can also be interpreted as due to the fact that people in the state see education as a guaranteed means, at least for the young generation, of climbing the social ladder, both as individuals and, in particular, as West Virginians, thus erasing the stereotype of the backward Appalachian. The need for such accomplishment has become more intense in later years because of the internal and external social pressures on Appalachia to catch up with the rest of society.

Table 40: Scales for Life Preference Questions for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Matched and Total Groups.

Degree of Preference	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Scale: Outdoor Living								
High (15-27)	26.6	42.5	35.8	30.5	33.8	39.7	40.0	30.9
Med. (9-14)	31.4	21.0	35.3	28.6	38.6	35.6	33.8	29.6
Low (3- 8)	42.0	36.5	28.9	40.9	27.6	24.7	26.2	39.5
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(238)	(165)	(383)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(166)
Scale: Education								
High (22-27)	30.0	28.6	16.3	14.7	30.7	29.6	18.3	12.9
Med. (15-21)	32.3	29.5	55.8	43.1	48.5	45.1	54.4	43.3
Low (3-14)	37.7	41.9	27.9	42.2	20.8	25.3	27.3	43.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(238)	(165)	(383)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(166)
Scale: Achievement								
High (18-27)	16.0	15.9	11.2	10.4	3.7	12.5	10.9	10.5
Med. (9-17)	38.8	42.5	50.3	43.5	37.4	40.3	51.5	45.1
Low (3- 8)	45.2	41.6	38.5	46.1	58.9	47.2	37.6	44.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(238)	(165)	(383)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(166)
Scale: Religion								
High (22-27)	45.7	52.1	60.1	35.8	61.4	63.9	70.2	32.1
Med. (15-21)	19.5	17.6	23.6	23.0	24.3	22.1	19.4	21.6
Low (3-14)	34.8	30.3	16.3	41.2	14.3	14.0	10.4	46.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(238)	(165)	(383)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(166)
Scale: Friendship								
High (22-27)	20.5	19.3	12.5	13.9	4.9	8.3	12.5	15.0
Med. (15-21)	51.7	49.4	49.3	51.9	55.6	47.2	57.8	51.5
Low (3-14)	27.8	31.3	38.2	34.2	39.5	44.5	29.7	33.5
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(238)	(165)	(383)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(166)
Scale: Work								
High (22-27)	25.0	18.4	10.8	21.0	13.3	12.5	6.1	22.2
Med. (12-21)	45.3	46.0	70.1	60.2	64.7	72.2	71.2	61.7
Low (3-11)	29.7	35.6	19.1	18.8	22.0	15.3	22.7	16.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(238)	(165)	(383)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(166)

Continued

Table 40: Continued.

Degree of Preference	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Scale: Family								
High (22-27)	37.5	37.4	55.4	53.5	42.0	43.8	51.4	50.6
Med. (15-21)	32.1	33.9	39.3	37.6	44.4	45.2	44.3	40.2
Low (3-14)	30.4	28.7	5.3	8.9	13.6	11.0	4.3	9.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(238)	(165)	(383)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(166)
Scale: Material Conveniences								
High (18-27)	46.3	39.1	24.7	40.1	21.5	22.0	17.8	47.0
Med. (12-17)	24.9	23.6	39.0	37.7	46.6	32.9	46.8	31.5
Low (3-11)	28.8	37.3	36.3	22.2	31.9	45.1	35.4	21.5
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(238)	(165)	(383)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(166)
Scale: Recreation								
High (15-27)	33.1	28.3	12.5	25.1	17.1	9.7	14.1	24.7
Med. (9-14)	24.8	27.5	27.3	42.4	34.2	42.4	21.9	43.8
Low (3- 8)	42.1	44.2	60.2	32.5	48.7	47.9	64.0	31.5
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(238)	(165)	(383)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(166)

A discussion similar to the above could be held in relation to the third way of life of Table 40 which emphasizes achievement, and, more specifically, achievement in line with mass society expectations. In this case, again, the two West Virginia groups have the highest proportion (16.0 and 15.9 percent) of respondents who have high scores in the total of the responses to the three questions which measure life in line with achievement orientation. The situation, however, changes when the groups are matched (right side of Table 40). In that case, the group with the lowest proportion of individuals with high scores and the highest proportion of individuals with low scores are the non-migrants, that is, people who never left the state but who are of the same age and education as the other three groups. This also implies that the higher scores which were shown in the left side of the table are probably due to the presence of individuals with the higher educational levels in this group.

A life in line with religion, fourth question of Table 40, seems to be valued more by the returned migrants and ghetto residents, the two lower socioeconomic strata groups. Relevant literature suggests that people in these groups have a need for becoming attached to some doctrine in order to cope with the frustrations which the expectations of the new society produce. The group which shows the lowest scores in this scale are the suburbanites. Their scores become much lower in comparison to the other three groups when the four groups are matched. In other words, age and education do not influence the fact that suburbanites value life in line with religion less than the other three groups.

A life enriched with friendship seems to be valued more by the two groups in West Virginia which normally have different age (more older people)

and occupation distributions than the two groups from Cleveland. However, when the groups are matched (right side of Table 40) so that no age differences exist among our four groups, friendship becomes more important for the two groups in Cleveland. These groups, in turn, are those which consist of people who have moved to a new community more businesslike than their origin community and, therefore, feel the importance of friendship and friends.

A way of life where work is practiced and enjoyed seems to be less important among the two lower socioeconomic strata and less skilled occupational groups, the returned migrants and the ghetto residents. These two groups remain lower when the four groups are matched, but, in contrast, suburbanites in the matched group show twice as many respondents with high scores as the two groups in West Virginia and more than three times as many as the ghetto group (6.1 versus 22.2 percent). By explanation it could be stated that either suburbanites came to like their new skilled jobs or they acquire the skill and have this level of living simply because they value work.

Value of family life is higher in the two Cleveland groups, and it remains higher when the groups are matched. It seems justifiable that family life and friendship become more important for people who have moved into a new community particularly for the rural migrant, because of the role of primary group relationships which have become more and more crucial as society becomes more and more complex.

A life enriched with material comforts which are so emphasized by modern society seems to be valued almost equally by all groups except the ghetto residents. Ghetto residents have comparatively very few material

comforts and, in turn, because they are not used to comforts or because they need other things more, the ghetto residents value these material comforts less. However, when the groups are matched, the suburbs show by far the largest proportion of respondents, 47.0 percent, (second page of Table 40) who have high scores on the material convenience scale. Most of these people are newcomers in the world of material conveniences which they see as a means of social achievement.

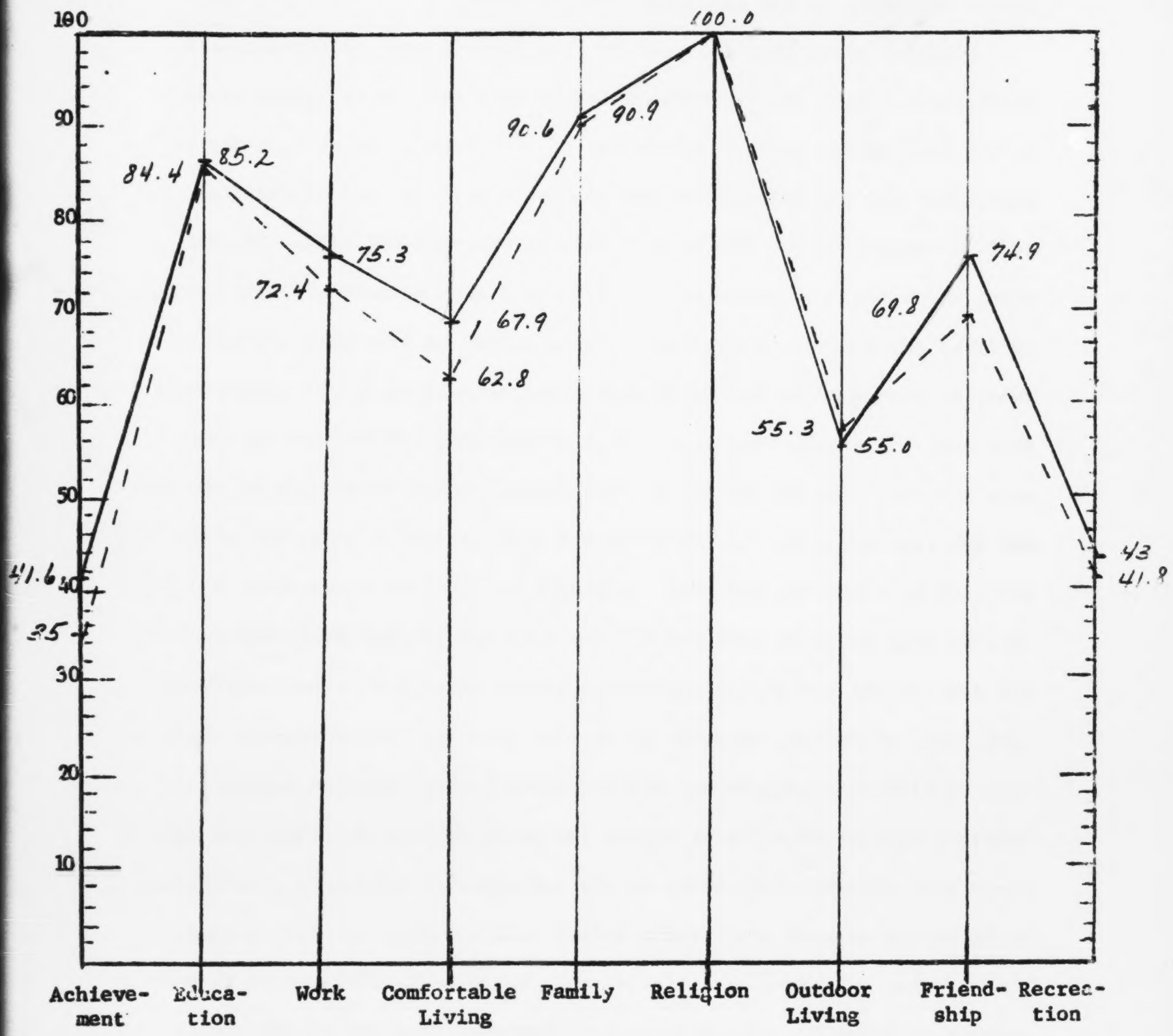
Finally, a life involving a considerable amount of recreation is shown to be preferred more often by non-migrants (a group which includes a considerable number of high S.E.S. respondents) and least often by ghetto residents. However, when the groups are matched to eliminate education and age differentiation, suburbanites become the group which more often values recreation. The suburbanites, in fact, have the highest income, and therefore, more means for becoming involved in recreational activities.

Let us look now at each of our four groups separately and examine the hierarchy or profile of their values, or to be more accurate, the profile of their way of life preferences. Figures 1, 2, 3, and 4 are produced on the basis of the way respondents in each group ranked the nine way of life preferences. In each group for each way of life the total score of all respondents combined was estimated. This total included, first, the total from each respondent's ranking of the three questions (shown in Appendix A) which measured one particular way of life. For instance, if the respondent had ranked friendship in the three sets of questions 4th, 5th, and 3rd, the score this respondent would receive would be 6+5+7=18. In other words, the scoring in this case is the reverse to that of the rank order. The total of such scores of all individuals in the group divided by the number of people in the group could indicate: first, the position in the group of the particular way of life, e.g. friendship, in relation to the other ways of life;

and, second, the position of one group in relation to the other three groups according to the particular way of life.

Figure 1 shows the nine way of life preferences of non-migrants. The highest of the nine indexes, which in this case is religion, is used as the 100 percent basis; another way of life preference whose index or importance for the majority of the people is half of that of religion would be marked on the 50 percent level of the vertical axis. Figure 1, then, shows that non-migrants, if they had a choice among all nine ways of life, would first of all life to have a life in line with religion. This, of course, does not imply that every individual in the group feels this way, but simply that more people prefer this way of life to other ways of life. The second way of life preference as shown both in figure 1 and the rank order at the bottom of the page is family life, and it is followed by education and work. Although a number of respondents did not rank as high in these four values, the majority of them conformed because all four values are highly institutionalized aspects of almost everyone's life, and, of course, in order to be that much institutionalized, these ways of life must perform crucial functions for the average person. However, because they are so highly institutionalized and important and, therefore, involve large areas of the individual's behavior. differences in hierarchy or rank order among individuals or among our four groups, even if they only involve a single rank, would imply differences in many aspects of behavior. These aspects of behavior stem out of particular value(s) (in our case, ways of life) which make up important components of our personality. This is, in particular, true for those values or ways of life which are related to important social institutions and constitute the basis for large areas of human behavior. The remaining five ways of life that follow are in rank order for non-migrants,

FIGURE 1: VALUE ORIENTATION OF NON-MIGRANTS FOR MATCHED AND TOTAL GROUPS



RANK ORDER

	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Eighth	Ninth
*	Religion	Family	Education	Work	Friendship	Material Conven.	Outdoor Living	Recreation	Achievement
**	Religion	Family	Education	Work	Friendship	Material Conven.	Outdoor Living	Recreation	Achievement

*Unmatched
**Matched

_____ Unmatched

- - - - - -Matched

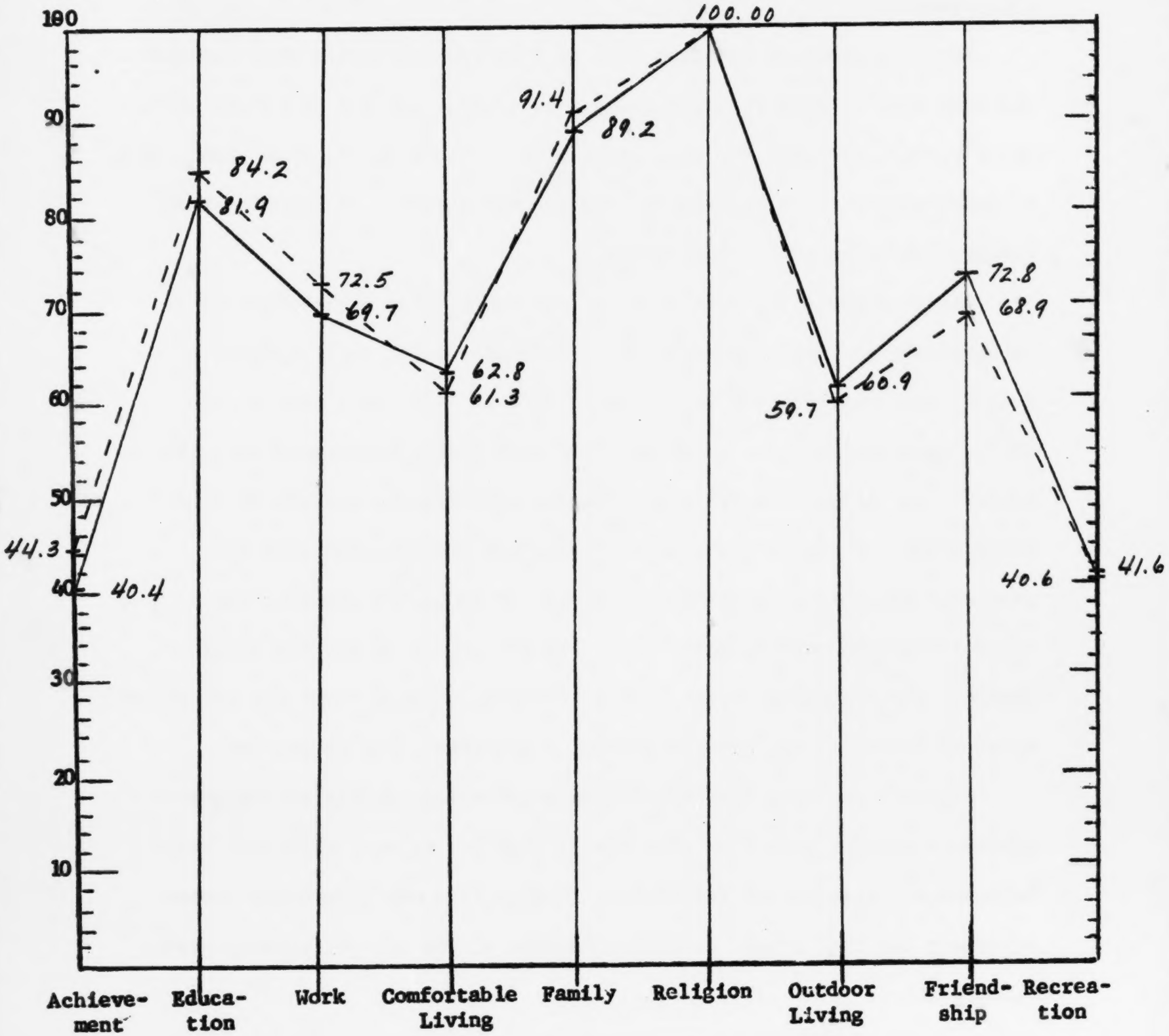
friendship, material conveniences, outdoor living, recreation, and finally, achievement.

The rank order of the nine ways of life remains intact when respondents, who have been matched with respondents of similar age and education of the three groups, are used for this ranking or in other words, when people such as professionals or older people, who are not numerous in the Cleveland groups, are taken out of the sample.

Figure 2 shows the rank order of the way of life preferences of returned migrants and indicates, as previously noted, that religion, family, and education are the three aspects of life these people value most. Interestingly, as a fourth value they prefer friendship to work; however, in the matched group of returned migrants the reverse is true. (This group, as stated previously, is younger when matched with the groups of migrants). Otherwise, returned migrants, in general, who value friendship more include a considerable number of retired older people. The remaining way of life preferences in rank order are as follows: material conveniences, outdoor living, achievement, and recreation.

Figure 3 outlines the way of life preferences profile of the ghetto residents showing this time that family life is the most important value followed by religion and friendship. Family life and friendship become important for this group, probably, because of the role of primary group relationships. Such relationships become important for the ghetto migrant who finds himself in a more or less impersonal environment and in a job, which due to his lack of skill and the recency of his arrival, is quite strenuous. In fact, a number of ghetto residents during preliminary interviews indicated that they had to take, at least in the first years of their

FIGURE 2: VALUE ORIENTATION OF RETURNED MIGRANTS FOR MATCHED AND TOTAL GROUPS



RANK ORDER

	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Eighth	Ninth
*	Religion	Family	Educa-tion	Friend-ship	Work	Material Conven.	Outdoor Living	Achie-vement	Recre-ation
**	Religion	Family	Educa-tion	Work	Friend-ship	Material Conven.	Outdoor Living	Achie-vement	Recre-ation

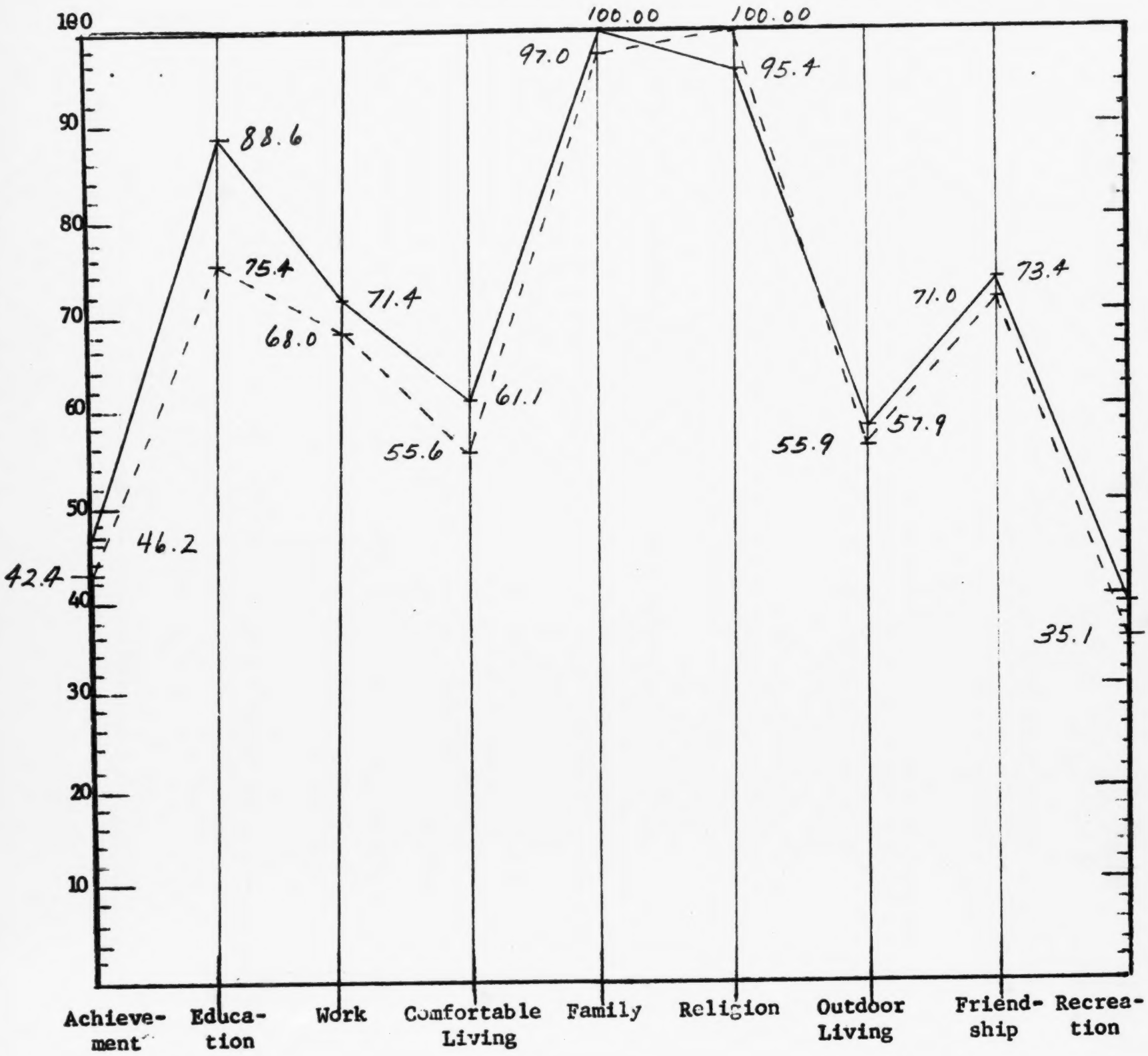
* Unmatched

** Matched

_____ Unmatched

- - - - - - Matched

FIGURE 3: VALUE ORIENTATION OF GHETTO FOR MATCHED AND TOTAL GROUPS



RANK ORDER

	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Eighth	Ninth
*	Family	Religion	Education	Friend-ship	Work	Material Conven.	Outdoor Living	Achie-vement	Recre-ation
**	Religion	Family	Education	Friend-ship	Work	Outdoor Living	Material Conven.	Achie-vement	Recre-ation

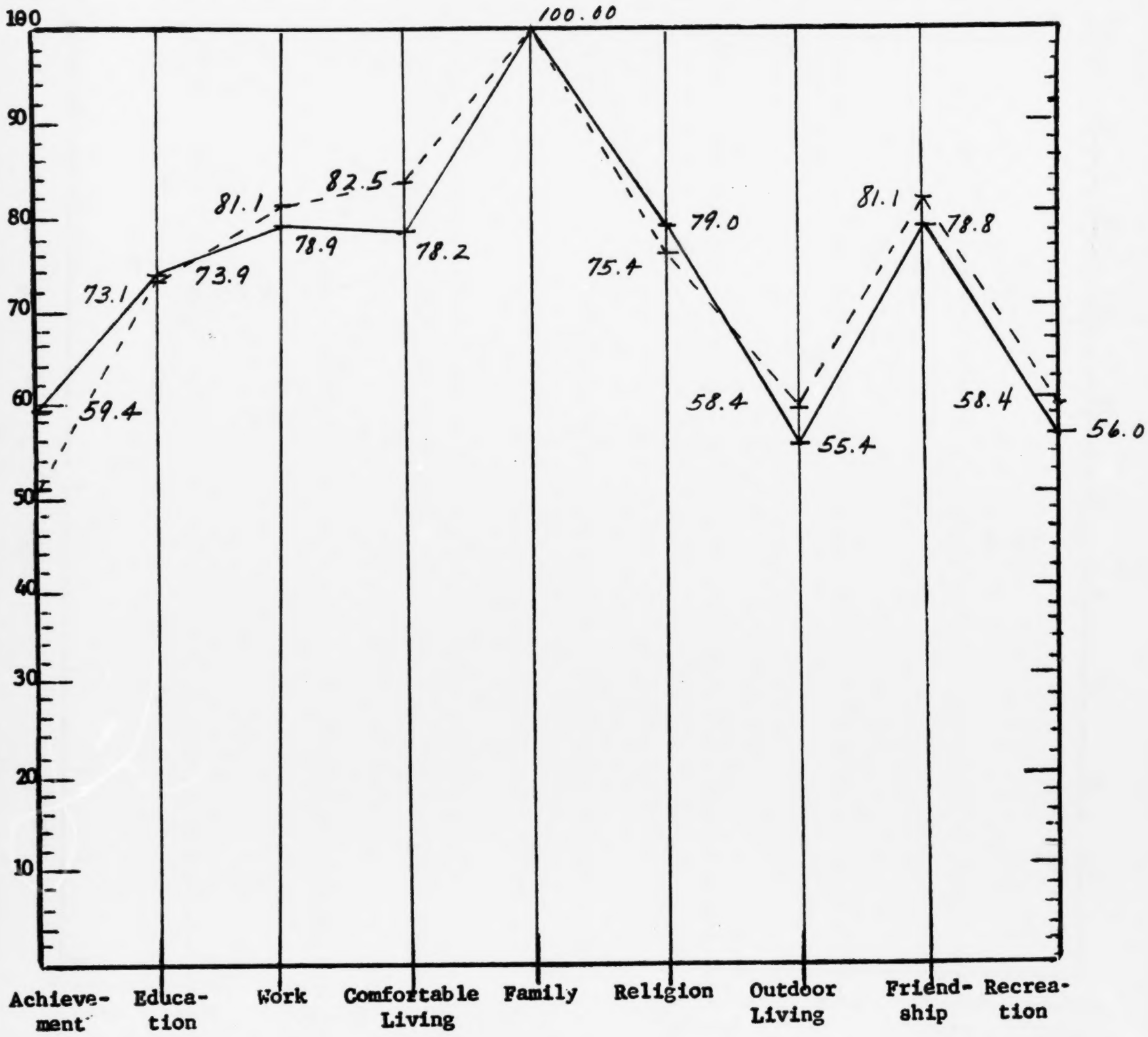
*Unmatched

**Matched

_____Unmatched

- - - - - -Matched

FIGURE 4: VALUE ORIENTATION OF SUBURBS FOR MATCHED AND TOTAL GROUPS



RANK ORDER

	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Eighth	Ninth
*	Family	Religion	Work	Friend-ship	Material Conven.	Educa-tion	Recrea-tion	Outdoor Living	Achie-vement
**	Family	Material Conven.	Friend-ship	Work	Religion	Educa-tion	Recrea-tion	Outdoor Living	Achie-vement

*Unmatched

**Matched

_____ Unmatched

- - - - - -Matched

arrival, the less desirable jobs in industry. The remaining way of life preferences among ghetto residents are work, material convenience, outdoor living, achievement and recreation.

Finally, figure 4 shows the way of life preferences of the group of West Virginians who live in the suburbs of Cleveland. Like the other migrant group, family life becomes the first way of life preference, religion second, but work comes before friendship which, in this case ranks fourth. Fifth is material convenience which was sixth in all other groups. The suburban environment is either exerting pressure for such style of life, or these people have moved to the suburbs because they wanted to experience a more affluent kind of life. As was the case with attitudes toward education (Table 5), among suburbanites education occupies a lower rank than it does in the other groups. Also, recreation ranks seventh, which is higher than in the other groups, followed by outdoor living and achievement.

Comparison of the Four Groups. Figure 5 shows the profile of way of life preferences of all four groups. For the two West Virginia groups life in line with religion ranks first and family life second. For the two Cleveland groups of migrants family life ranks first and religion second. It might be that the secular life has influenced the religious values of the migrants or, on the other hand, it might be that people with more secular values are those who migrate and stay in the city. Among the suburbanites, in particular, religious life is of much less importance than in the other groups. Also less important for this group is a life where education would be an important aspect. Conversely, suburbanites value considerably more material conveniences and recreation than the other three

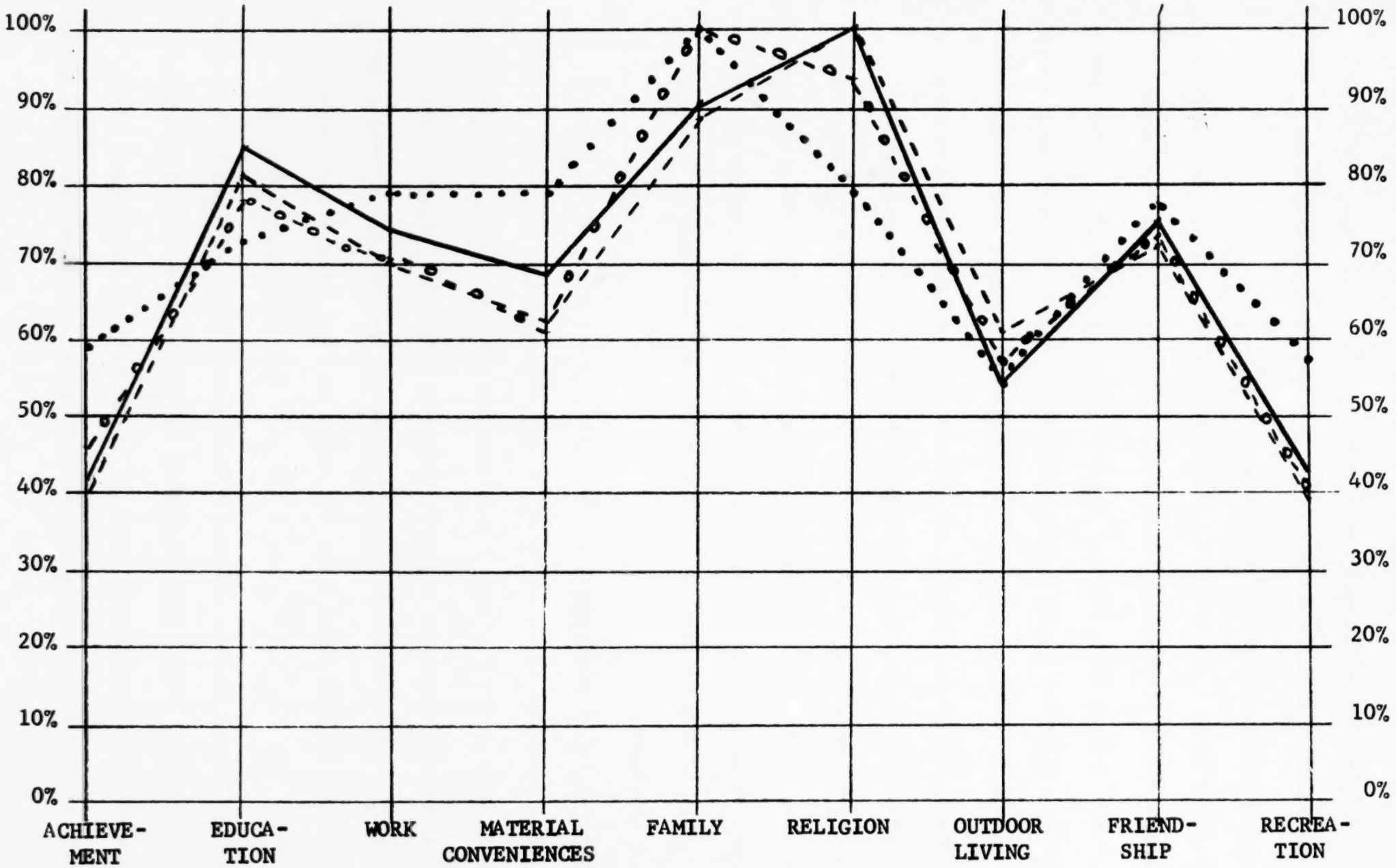


FIGURE 1. VALUE ORIENTATION OF UNMATCHED GROUPS
NON-MIGRANT _____ RETURNED MIGRANT ----- GHETTO o - o - o - SUBURBS • • • • •

groups. But in both these types of way of living preferences, suburbanites are followed by the non-migrants. Actually, these two groups have higher income and level of living than returned migrants and ghetto residents (Tables 9 and 11), and, therefore, have higher scores in these two life preferences either because material conveniences and recreation are of more use to the suburbanites and non-migrants, or because they actually value them more and have become more successful in acquiring them. In general, suburbanites have higher rank than the other groups on achievement, work, material comfort, familism, friendship, and recreation. Ghetto residents, however, rank higher on religious life. The two West Virginia groups rank higher on education, which as we indicated previously, is probably a consequence of the internal and external pressures they feel to improve education in West Virginia which they see as a means of catching up with the rest of the American society.

Appendix A shows the proportion of respondents from the four groups who have ranked as 9th, 8th, 7th, etc., each of the 27 questions from the three batteries (three questions for each way of life). For instance, the statement, "To live in the outdoors and the pure air of the mountains," has been checked as the ninth choice by 17 percent of the non-migrants (N), 12 percent of the returned migrants (R), 12 percent of the ghetto residents (G) and 21 percent of the suburbanites (S). This same statement has been checked as first choice (second page of Appendix, top line) by 6 percent of the non-migrants, 8 percent of the returned migrants, and 5 percent of the suburbanites.

Appendix B shows the same distribution in the matched groups. Analysis of the individual questions of Appendix A and B is not presented here due

to its length. Totals of those questions, of course, have been presented in figures one to five and in Table 40.

Religion, Beliefs, and Participation

Under the previous heading, we have shown that life in line with religion ranked first for the two West Virginia groups and second for the Cleveland groups. Here we examine religion in more detail, and we look first at the religious beliefs of our four groups.

Beliefs and values are in some ways related, at least to the extent that we usually value some things we believe to be true. In general, a belief is a conviction that something is real or true; beliefs are man's perceptions of reality or of existence. From this point of view, then, one should expect that preference of a life in line with religion and religious beliefs should differentiate our four groups in a similar fashion.

Religious Beliefs. Table 41 includes four questions which are designed to measure orthodox Christian belief.[35] However, looking at the fourth question, "I believe that the world is soon coming to an end", one wonders if this question actually measures sectarian beliefs in particular. (Even so, all four questions are used for the summary score at the bottom of Table 41).

About four-fifths of the respondents in Table 41 strongly or moderately agree with the statement that "there is a divine plan and purpose for every

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[34] These four questions are from a six question scale designed to measure orthodox Christian belief by S. Putney and R. Middleton, and come from their paper,"Dimensions and Correlates of Religious Ideologies," which was read at the Sociological Society, New York, April, 1960.

Table 41: Questions and Scale for Orthodox Belief Scale for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto, and Suburbs, for Matched and Total Groups.

Degree of Agreement	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Question: I believe there is a divine plan and purpose for every living person and thing.								
St., mod. agr.	76.4	78.7	82.9	70.6	80.4	89.2	87.7	70.5
Sl. agr., sl. disagr.	12.4	8.5	12.1	18.6	12.9	5.4	11.0	20.5
St., mod. disagr.	11.2	12.8	5.0	10.8	6.7	5.4	1.3	9.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(874)	(235)	(164)	(388)	(163)	(74)	(73)	(166)
Question: I believe there is a God who hears and answers prayers.								
St., mod. agr.	91.0	93.3	93.3	87.3	91.9	93.3	94.7	86.7
Sl. agr., sl. disagr.	6.3	4.6	4.9	9.1	6.1	5.3	5.3	12.1
St., mod. disagr.	2.7	2.1	1.8	3.6	2.0	1.4	0.0	1.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(881)	(237)	(164)	(387)	(162)	(75)	(75)	(165)
Question: I believe there is a life after death.								
St., mod. agr.	83.2	86.0	77.7	79.1	83.8	88.0	81.1	78.8
Sl. agr., sl. disagr.	10.1	8.9	14.9	13.2	9.9	9.3	17.6	13.3
St., mod. disagr.	6.7	5.1	7.4	7.7	6.3	2.7	1.3	7.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(876)	(236)	(161)	(388)	(161)	(75)	(74)	(165)
Question: I believe that the world is soon coming to an end.								
St., mod. agr.	29.0	32.9	48.0	27.0	32.6	30.5	49.3	24.5
Sl. agr., sl. disagr.	18.7	19.7	27.3	18.7	27.5	32.0	26.1	17.8
St., mod. disagr.	52.3	47.4	24.7	54.3	39.9	37.5	24.6	57.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(835)	(228)	(154)	(375)	(153)	(72)	(69)	(163)
Orthodox Belief Scale								
High (24-28)	36.4	41.6	59.6	32.9	43.4	43.0	58.9	28.3
Med. (20-23)	39.0	39.8	27.8	36.5	38.9	44.5	30.9	42.8
Low (4-19)	24.6	18.6	12.6	30.6	17.7	12.5	10.2	28.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(823)	(226)	(151)	(389)	(152)	(72)	(68)	(166)

living person." The proportion of individuals who strongly or moderately agree with this statement becomes higher, approximately ninety percent when people were asked to respond to the statement, "I believe there is a God who hears and answers prayers." For both questions the proportions remain the same when the groups are matched in terms of education and age. To some, these percentages appear high and might indicate, depending on the nature of the beliefs of these people, not actual belief but an expression of socially expected behavior. However, in the responses of both these questions, suburbanites have a lower proportion of respondents who either strongly or moderately agree with the two statements.

The other question which differentiates the four groups is the fourth question which suggests that "the world is soon coming to an end." Much lower proportions of respondents strongly or moderately agree with this statement, which as mentioned before, indicates sectarian tendancies, but in this case, the group which has the highest proportion of respondents (48.0 percent) who strongly or moderately agree with the statement and also the lowest proportion of respondents (24.7 percent) who strongly or moderately disagree with the statement are the ghetto residents. In addition, other studies of rural American and Puerto Rican migrants in the city indicate sectarian tendencies. Thus, attachment to a sectarian doctrine, in turn, is interpreted as a means or a buffer cushioning the cultural shock such newcomers to the city experience. What, in this case, could be meaningful in terms of action programs for these peoplei sa comparison with people whose adjustment is easier. The limited indications we have here show that the more educated migrants and even migrants with technical training adjust

much easier and have less need to use emotional doctrines or similar mechanisms to facilitate adjustment. How much lack of education, which limits perception of social order and function in the city, and how much work under undesirable conditions contribute to the need for a sectarian doctrine as a defense can only be estimated here.

The total scores at the bottom of Table 41, indicating sectarian tendencies, show that ghetto residents have the highest proportion of respondents with high scores (59.6 percent) and suburbanites have the lowest (32.9 percent). This difference increases when the groups are matched. Given that there is not much difference in income between these two groups, ghetto and suburban residents, and no difference in education (figures on the right side of Table 41), one might wonder about the reasons for the differences between these two groups both in this table and in a considerable number of tables we presented in the previous pages. Do these ghetto residents stay in the ghetto because they have personality attributes, including religious beliefs, which are different from those of the suburbanites, or do they simply develop these beliefs or some other attributes because of the experiences they have in the city? For instance, do ghetto residents have to remain in the kind of environment which the ghetto provides or do they have strong religious beliefs because under these conditions they feel more comfortable and can sustain city life? We will come back to these questions again when discussing other differences among our groups. Now lit us examine the religious denominations these people belong to and look for more clues as to what determines their differences.

Religious Affiliation and Participation. Table 42 shows that concerning better-known churches there are certain patterns which might differentiate our four groups. The explanation for the differences could be considered, however, more a matter of social or sociopsychological interpretation than doctrinal. Cleveland and, in particular, the ghetto has a much lower proportion of Methodists and Presbyterians than the two groups in West Virginia. (Both these church organizations are higher socioeconomic status groups). The opposite is true with Baptists who are more numerous in Cleveland. The Church of the Brethren, which,concerning socioeconomic status, would probably fall between the Methodist and Baptist Church, is not represented in Cleveland.

Concerning interpretation of these data, one's reaction would be that it is not the type of church which contributes to differences in these groups, but rather the socioeconomic status of the members, which is, as previously presented, associated with migration. As mentioned above, other studies have indicated that once the migrants have reached the city, they often drop their institutionalized church to join a sectarian one because the emotional doctrine and the intimacy among members of the sectarian groups help the rural migrant to cope with the frustrations of urban environment. The more informal Baptist church, similarly, seems to better serve the needs of the migrants.

At least in actual numbers, Table 43 shows that in spite of the probable need for sectarian religion, more migrants are non-sectarian than sectarian. The highest proportion of sectarians, 32.4 percent, is shown in the returned migrant group. It might be that one of the reasons these people return to West Virginia is their association with their sectarian churches. Or, to go back for a moment to the intro-

Table 42: Church Affiliation for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto, and Suburbs for Total Groups.

Church	Total Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Methodist	25.6	22.9	2.4	14.9
Presbyterian	10.7	7.2	1.2	5.1
Catholic	7.2	4.7	2.4	3.8
Episcopalian	1.4	1.7	0.0	0.5
Baptist	11.9	8.0	21.4	26.4
Lutheran	3.8	4.2	0.6	4.7
Church of Brethren	8.9	13.6	0.0	0.3
Pentacostal	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.5
Seventh Day Adventists	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.5
Other or None	29.9	36.9	71.4	43.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(236)	(168)	(390)

duction of this paper and to some of the reasons migrants leave West Virginia, we can probably see the role sectarian churches might play for the returned migrant. If he is a person who for one reason or another could not take city life and has to go back to West Virginia, he will still be haunted by the messages of mass media suggesting higher income and level of living, or by informal messages about the success of those who have made the "score" in the city. Normally, this should disturb the returned migrant and make him dissatisfied with his life, but in the case of the member of the sectarian church, whether he is the returned migrant or someone else with similar problems, he has a minister and a doctrine telling him that worldly goods are ephemeral and unimportant and that the other life in heaven represents reality. Thus, he strengthens both his beliefs and feelings in the emotional atmosphere of the sectarian liturgy and the primary relations with members of an emotional but brotherly congregation . Because of the function of the sectarian churches in Appalachia, and in spite of increased formal education and informal mass education which are both contrary to the survival of sectarianism, sectarian churches in rural Appalachia are holding their own.

Let us look now at church participation, in general, both in West Virginia and in Cleveland.

Table 44 shows frequency of church attendance; Table 45 shows the number of church offices held; and Table 46 shows the total church participation score. This total is derived on the basis of a modified form of the Chapin formal participation scale which utilized various forms of participation. Offices held receive the highest score while

Table 43: Sectarian and Non-sectarian Affiliation for Total and Matched Groups (only for church members).

	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
Affiliation	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Sectarian	22.7	32.4	22.1	19.0	31.0	41.4	15.4	25.6
Non-Sectarian	77.3	67.6	77.9	81.0	69.0	58.6	84.6	74.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(740)	(185)	(77)	(226)	(129)	(58)	(39)	(90)

Table 44: Frequency of Attendance for Total and Matched Groups.

	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
Attendance	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Frequently	54.8	39.7	13.2	35.2	36.0	35.7	17.6	34.1
Occasionally	40.4	38.8	19.2	44.6	47.2	44.3	21.6	46.8
Not at all	4.8	21.5	67.6	20.2	16.8	20.0	60.8	19.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(775)	(224)	(168)	(298)	(161)	(70)	(74)	(126)

Table 45: Church Offices Held for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Matched and Total Groups.

Offices Held	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Yes	14.5	18.1	1.8	14.4	8.1	10.4	0.0	13.8
No	85.5	81.9	98.2	85.6	91.9	89.6	100.0	86.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(854)	(221)	(168)	(292)	(160)	(67)	(74)	(123)

Table 46: Total Church Participation Score for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Matched and Total Groups.

Participation	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Low (Score 1-2)	22.6	29.2	68.5	39.6	25.2	27.0	59.5	48.8
High (Score 2-7)	77.4	70.8	31.5	60.4	74.8	73.0	40.5	51.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(236)	(168)	(351)	(166)	(74)	(74)	(166)

Table 47: Type of Change in Church Membership for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants Ghetto and Suburbs for Matched and Total Groups.

Type of Change	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Non-Sectarian to Sectarian	16.8	18.8	25.0	19.0	30.0	33.3 1/3	100.0	18.2
Sectarian to Non-Sectarian	10.5	15.6	0.0	6.9	20.0	33.3 1/3	0.0	4.5
Changed, Remained Sectarian	7.4	18.8	0.0	22.4	0.0	33.3 1/3	0.0	36.4
Changed, Remained Non-Sectarian	65.8	46.8	75.0	51.7	50.0	0.0	0.0	40.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(95)	(32)	(4)	(58)	(10)	(6)	(1)	(22)

single membership receives the lowest. As shown in Table 44 non-migrants, the people who did not migrate but stayed in their old communities where both habit and social relationships have their strongest influence, are by far the most frequent church participants (54.8 percent). Ghetto residents, who are the newcomers in Cleveland, have the lowest proportion of frequent participants (13.2 percent) and the highest proportion of non-participants (67.6 percent). Churches usually play a vital role in helping in the adjustment of European immigrants in the country, but as these figures demonstrate, churches play a small role in involving and aiding the Appalachian migrant.

In general, by nature of their character and their individualism in particular, Appalachian migrants do not join either churches or groups of their own in Cleveland. Only when they settle down, as in the case of the suburbanites in Cleveland (Table 44, 45, and 46), do migrants tend to participate more and more in church activities. (However, they still participate less than those back home including the returned migrants). This increased participation, as shown on the right side of Table 46, is not due to differences in education or age, but it is probably due to the fact that these people are now settled and need the church more for its social function than for its anxiety alleviating function.

Above we have mentioned that the need to alleviate the frustration and anxiety which the new city life produces may be fulfilled by the supporting function of sectarian churches. Table 47 represents an effort to test this proposition by comparing our groups in relation to the number of people who have in recent years changed their church

affiliation. Before we compare our groups, however, to test this proposition, it is necessary to look at our entire sample to find whether more West Virginians change to sectarian from non-sectarian than vice versa. The percentage referring to the total sample indicate that, in spite of increased formal education and level of living among West Virginians which are both factors related negatively to sectarianism, more non-sectarians (16.8 of non-migrants, 18.8 of returned migrants, 25.0 of ghetto residents and 19.0 percent of suburbanites) join sectarian churches than vice versa (10.5, 15.6, 0.0, and 6.9 percent respectively). The shortcoming of the testing of this hypothesis, of course, is shown in Table 43 which indicates that in our sample there are three times as many non-sectarians as sectarians. In other words, percentagewise there are more non-sectarians switching to sectarianisms, but numerically the opposite is true.

Concerning differences among the four groups, there are not enough cases for a proper comparison, although among people involved in migration there are more people who have switched to sectarian from non-sectarianism than vice-versa.

Identification and Reference Group Orientation Concerning the Appalachian Region and the American Society

In the introduction of this report we indicated that one of the indirect reasons rural Appalachians migrate is that identification with their local community is shifting and they feel and behave more as members of the larger American society. To a considerable extent even apathy and disorganization of the rural Appalachian community has been explained as indirectly due to this widening area of identification or

what some call increased cosmopolitanism. The new identification implies newer and higher aspirations which can trigger feelings of relative deprivation when means are not available to implement these aspirations, as is the case in rural Appalachia. Such feelings sometimes force the individual to migrate or, depending on the circumstances, to retreat into the welfare rolls.

Identification with the Appalachian Region and American Society. We have already indicated on the previous pages some of the reasons why migrants are able to sustain the pressures mass society creates by expecting them to have higher incomes and higher level of living. Once migrants have returned, religion and sectarianism in particular, familism, friendship, outdoor life, and the appeal of the Appalachian culture in general, act as cushioning agents and means to overcome frustrations from feelings of relative deprivation. Because of their cushioning effect these factors are also potential motivational forces which "agents of directed change" could systematically utilize to counter-balance forces (such as societal demands for higher achievement when there are no available means) which lead to personal and social disorganization and, in turn, dissatisfaction with life in Appalachia.

Table 48, dealing solely with the two West Virginia groups, demonstrates 60.1 percent of the returned migrants and 51.9 percent of the non-migrants agree with a statement suggesting that "the Appalachian Region is the one place you can be happy even if you don't have much." It may be that this kind of attitude is the reason most migrants return to West Virginia. Further analysis of these data will deal with the

Table 48: Question and Scale for Identification With the Appalachian Region for Non-Migrants and Returned Migrants, for Matched and Total Groups.

Degree of Agreement	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant
Question: The Appalachian region is the one place you can be happy even if you don't have much.				
St., mod. agr.	51.9	60.1	53.0	58.1
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	25.2	20.7	26.8	17.6
St., mod. disagr.	22.9	19.2	20.2	24.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(876)	(236)	(164)	(74)
Identification with Appalachian Region Scale				
High (22-28)	47.3	49.6	48.8	47.3
Med. (13-21)	21.0	21.2	22.5	23.0
Low (4-12)	31.7	29.2	28.7	29.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(878)	(236)	(164)	(74)

characteristics and sociopsychological attributes of people who feel this way.

Four additional questions of a similar nature have been used to obtain an "identification with the Appalachian region" scale shown in the lower part of Table 48, and these indicate no important differences between non-migrants and migrants as to the extent of their identification with the region. Due to space limitation and the fact that additional questions had been added to the questionnaire when administered in Cleveland, these five questions were not included in the Cleveland questionnaire. Let us turn now to the way returned migrants and non-migrants identify themselves with American society.

Table 49 includes four questions which are expected to measure indirectly identification with American society. Directly, these questions measure interest in seeing Appalachia become like the rest of the American society in terms of education, income,rationality, and habits and customs.

The aspect of the larger American culture which respondents would most like to see Appalachia adopt is the level of education of the country. Four-fifths of the respondents, non-migrants and returned migrants, feel that the Appalachian region should try to be like the rest of the country in terms of education (first question of Table 49). The proportions of respondents in both groups, who strongly or moderately agree with a statement suggesting that "the Appalachian region should try to be like the rest of the country in terms of education," is considerably higher (close to twelve percent difference) than the proportion of respondents who strongly or moderately agree with the statement that "the Appalachian

Region should become like the rest of the country in personal income" (third question of Table 49). Similar to the latter finding is the proportion of respondents who feel that "the Appalachian Region should become as businesslike as the rest of the country."

The area in which the lowest proportion of respondents would like to see the region changed is its habits, customs, and attitudes toward life. Only 42.0 percent of the non-migrants and 43.3 percent of the returned migrants strongly or moderately agree with the corresponding statement (second question of Table 49).

In general, then, we might say that West Virginians would like to see conditions of education changed more than their average incomes. Furthermore, as much as they want income compatible with that of the rest of the country, they also want the business rationality which goes with it. Such rationality, it is believed, is less pronounced among rural Appalachians than in the rest of the country. However, the area they would like to change least is habits and customs, but even in this case more people feel that habits and customs should be changed to be like those of the rest of the country. In other words, presently the American society as a whole constitutes a very strong reference group for many of the people in Appalachia.

Finally, the summary scale at the bottom of Table 49 shows that there are a few more returned migrants than non-migrants who have high scores on the scale that measures identification with American society. The difference is retained when the two groups are matched (right side of Table 49). The hypothesis that returned migrants, because of unfavorable experiences in the city, identify more with the traditional culture

Table 49: Questions and Scale for Identification With American Society for Non-Migrants and Returned Migrants, both Matched and Total Groups.

Degree of Agreement	Total Groups Non-Migrant	Total Groups Returned Migrant	Matched Groups Non-Migrant	Matched Groups Returned Migrant
Question: The Appalachian Region should try to be like the rest of the country in terms of education.				
St., mod. agr.	79.7	80.2	77.7	77.0
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	12.6	10.9	15.0	10.9
St., mod. dis.	7.7	8.9	7.3	12.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(888)	(238)	(166)	(74)
Question: The Appalachian Region should become like the rest of the country in terms of habits, customs and attitudes toward life.				
St., mod. agr.	42.0	43.3	39.8	43.2
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	23.3	24.0	23.5	20.3
St., mod. dis.	34.7	32.7	36.7	36.5
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(884)	(238)	(166)	(74)
Question: The Appalachian Region should become like the rest of the country in personal income.				
St., mod. agr.	67.1	68.3	68.7	67.5
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	17.1	16.9	16.8	9.5
St., mod. dis.	15.8	14.8	14.5	23.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(882)	(237)	(166)	(74)
Question: The Appalachian Region should become as businesslike as the rest of the country.				
St., mod. agr.	65.2	65.4	66.3	56.7
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	19.9	20.3	21.7	23.1
St., mod. dis.	14.9	14.3	12.0	20.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(882)	(237)	(166)	(74)
Identification with American Society Scale.				
High (32-35)	30.1	35.2	29.5	32.4
Med. (21-31)	47.3	43.6	51.3	39.1
Low (5-20)	22.6	21.2	19.2	28.5
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(880)	(236)	(166)	(74)

when they return home is not supported here. Still, one should be reminded that in order to actually test this hypothesis returned migrants should be separated between those who returned because of frustration and those who returned because they were retired or found a relatively good position in West Virginia. The latter are more numerous, and it is quite probable that they are the ones who whoud show greater interest in seeing Appalachia become more similar to the rest of the country. The limited number of depth interviews which supplemented this survey indicate that some returned migrants have developed very unfavorable attitudes toward the outside and urban life in general. These are people who felt alien in the urban setting and now feel that rural Appalachia is actually where they belong. But due to what we might call the law of reciprocity, the more they now value their old group, the more they feel they should obey its norms and defend its way of life. In other words, their reciprocity to the group is in accordance with the amount of renumeration they feel they receive from the group.

The opposite reaction, however, may be noticed among younger suburban migrants in Cleveland. When these people were interviewed during preliminary depth interviews, they revealed very favorable attitudes toward life in Cleveland. Most of these young suburbanites have already acquired skills and many of them work for established companies, such as the automobile industry. The relative success of this new class has made many of them feel, in their own way, part of the establishment; furthermore, many cannot see how one could even compare their present situation with what they might have in their old rural communities. The student of the Appalachian migrants who has stereotypically associated them with poverty

and depression will be quite surprised at these people. More astonishing, however, will be his experience when he encounters young married men who came to Cleveland when they were somewhere between 5 and 12 years of age. Visiting in one of the chain restaurants outside of Brunswick (a new suburban town which is occupied more than half by West Virginians) Sunday after church, the author felt that most of the people who have developed some stereotype of the Appalachian migrant would have difficulty associating with the relaxed customers of the restaurant. However, this archetype may be encountered by staying for a few hours in front of one of the numerous discount, repossessed, used, and similarly named furniture stores of the West Side. In most cases these people will be newcomers and not suburbanites.

From the ecological point of view one could ascertain that people who fit the rural Appalachian stereotype are more numerous in the area close to downtown Cleveland (the so-called Appalachian ghetto), but they become more scarce as one moved toward the suburban towns of the West Side. Some of the old migrants, if not the majority, stay away from people who exhibit Appalachian stereotypic attributes. Furthermore, there are some who do not particularly like to be identified as Appalachians. Even those who are more urbanized feel loyality to Appalachia, but not as much as to the group of successful Appalachians in Cleveland.

Frequency of interaction and common interests, partly because of similar background, have made such people members of a distinct social system. This social system is, in turn, quite different from that which one might encounter in the ghetto. In general, the ghetto, the interstitial area, and the suburban systems are not integrated under a single axis, either within each system or together as was the case with the immigrant groups

such as the Ukrainians, who lived in what we call the Appalachian ghettos before the Appalachians came. In those groups, during the first years of immigration in particular, the church and ethnic voluntary associations offered opportunities for interaction among large numbers of immigrants under a single setting. Informal associations based on kinship, friendship, and more localized areas of origin (e.g. particular village or country of the Ukraine) were linked through individual members with the more formalized parts of the immigrant group such as formal organizations. However, this is not the case with Appalachians who, although they tend to associate with people of similar origin and are members of informal groups such as those we mentioned before, are not actually linked together, interaction-wise, through a single integrated system as European immigrants. As a consequence, Appalachians do not have the same kind of identification group and reference group as the Ukrainian occupants of that area had when they lived there.

Concerning adjustment and morale due to lack of formal organizations, Appalachians, and in particular those who are less educated and unskilled, have actually suffered. This was the case particularly in the earlier years of the great migration before the stem family set its roots in the city and became able to play its important role in helping the adjustment of its members.

Reference Groups. The Cleveland migrants use their communities in Cleveland (including suburban communities) as reference groups less than people in West Virginia. Lack of a community of West Virginia migrants based on an integrated interaction network is probably one of the reasons for this difference. The second question of Table 50 shows that migrants

Table 50: Group (Reference Group) with which Respondent Compares Himself, First, Second, and Third Choice for Non-Migrant, Returned Migrant, Ghetto and Suburb for Matched and Total Groups.

Choice	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Group: People you associate with, including friends.								
A choice	52.7	48.4	45.4	50.1	55.2	45.7	36.1	50.3
B choice	17.7	19.5	30.7	24.9	15.0	24.3	37.5	24.5
C choice	13.2	15.0	15.3	17.7	16.4	11.4	12.5	16.8
No choice	16.4	17.1	8.6	7.3	13.4	18.6	13.9	8.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(223)	(163)	(355)	(165)	(70)	(72)	(155)
Group: People in your community.								
A choice	19.9	15.8	12.3	14.0	19.0	16.2	16.1	11.7
B choice	53.9	54.3	28.8	48.2	55.4	51.4	21.3	41.1
C choice	14.4	21.7	27.0	26.9	12.0	21.6	33.3	27.6
No choice	11.8	8.2	31.9	10.9	13.6	10.8	29.3	19.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(223)	(163)	(349)	(166)	(74)	(75)	(163)
Group: People in the Appalachian Region.								
A choice	5.7	9.0	11.7	12.0	4.8	14.3	15.3	10.5
B choice	16.0	15.7	19.0	13.5	22.4	17.1	13.9	14.5
C choice	34.5	31.2	25.8	24.5	35.8	25.7	22.2	27.0
No choice	43.8	44.1	43.5	50.0	37.0	42.9	48.6	48.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(889)	(223)	(163)	(342)	(165)	(70)	(72)	(152)
Group: People in the United States.								
A choice	18.2	24.4	30.1	25.9	19.4	22.9	30.6	27.5
B choice	7.0	7.3	14.1	14.3	4.3	4.3	12.5	18.1
C choice	29.9	28.2	22.1	30.4	32.7	40.0	16.7	25.5
No choice	44.9	40.1	33.7	29.4	43.6	32.8	40.2	28.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(222)	(163)	(343)	(165)	(70)	(72)	(149)

in Cleveland compare themselves with people in their communities less than respondents from West Virginia. The difference between the West Virginia groups and the Cleveland groups is more obvious when ghetto residents' responses are examined with 31.9 percent indicating that they do not use people in their community as either 1st, 2nd, or 3 rd choice to compare themselves. On the other hand, migrants compare themselves a little more with people in Appalachia than the two West Virginia groups do (third question of Table 50).

However, all groups use the American society more as a reference group than their individual communities or the Appalachian region. This is more true with the ghetto residents group in which there are quite a few newcomers whose feelings about their new community are not as strong. The difference between the ghetto and the other groups becomes more pronounced when the comparison refers to non-migrants partly because in the non-migrant group there is a large number of high S.E.S. people who are usually more cosmopolitan than those of low S.E.S. In other words, these figures support the hypothesis suggesting that the more people move and have less sense of community, the more they tend to use the American society as a reference group. Considering the role mass media (television in particular) and mass transportation are playing today, it is almost justifiable to say that these two, mass media and social contacts, have widened the sense of a societal community. This is especially true for people such as the migrants who become dislocated and are not integrated into some interaction network which they can see as a community.

Among the four groups, differences concerning the uses of reference groups are less pronounced in the category of "people one associates with,

including friends," (first question of Table 50). The only obvious difference is between ghetto and non-migrants with 52.7 and 45.4 percent respectively for responses to first choice. In other words, intimate groups are important to all people, but a little less so for newcomers in a community. In that case, the difference is in some way made up through more orientation toward the American society as a reference group. Thus, as compared to the other three groups, ghetto residents use primary groups as reference groups least (45.4 percent) and people in the United States most (30.1 percent of Table 50).

In general, Table 50 shows that intimate groups are most often used as reference groups for comparison purposes in terms of style of life followed by the American society as a whole (second)and the community (third).

If this is what the situation in Appalachia is today one might wonder how people in the past would have ranked the community and the outside in terms of importance. Furthermore, one wonders as to whether contemporary ranking of these two would also vary with communities of different sizes. Let us turn now to migrant attitudes toward urban and rural people, so that we may have some notion about the way migrants perceive urbanites whom they more or less consider the prestigeful stratum of society.

Attitudes Toward Rural and Urban. There are four questions which measure attitudes toward urban and rural people. In particular, these questions measure attitudes toward characteristics which are important to (a) the definition of the interaction situation involving members of these groups and (b) the use of these groups as reference groups for aspects of behavior which are important to the newcomer in a community. Table 51 shows that nearly half of the respondents, both in the ghetto and suburbs,

Table 51: Attitudes Toward Urban and Rural People for Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups.

Intensity of Attitude	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburbs	Ghetto	Suburbs
Question: Country people are the solid citizens of our nation.				
Strong Disagree.	9.8	9.4	5.5	9.8
Mod. or Sl. Disagree.	35.3	35.0	35.2	30.0
Mod. or Sl. Agree.	32.3	34.8	33.8	40.2
Strong Agree.	22.6	20.8	25.5	20.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(168)	(351)	(74)	(166)
Question: City people are often a bunch of wise guys.				
Strong Disagree.	13.9	15.1	10.9	14.7
Mod. or Sl. Disagree.	24.7	38.0	24.4	44.4
Mod. or Sl. Agree.	30.7	31.5	27.2	28.0
Strong Agree.	30.7	15.4	37.5	12.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(168)	(351)	(74)	(166)
Question: City people are the biggest hicks in the world.				
Strong Disagree.	14.2	21.9	9.9	23.0
Mod. or Sl. Disagree.	45.6	47.3	47.9	46.6
Mod. or Sl. Agree.	19.8	22.2	21.4	21.3
Strong Agree.	20.4	8.6	20.8	9.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(168)	(351)	(74)	(166)
Question: Country people have a simple, healthy neatness about them.				
Strong Disagree.	0.6	0.8	0.0	0.9
Mod. or Sl. Disagree.	7.9	9.7	6.0	7.8
Mod. or Sl. Agree.	55.3	54.7	56.0	56.1
Strong Agree.	36.2	34.8	38.0	35.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(168)	(351)	(74)	(166)

disagree to some degree with a statement suggesting that country people are the solid citizens of our nation. In contrast, 22.6 percent of the ghetto residents and 20.8 percent of the suburbanites strongly agree with this statement. Although this first statement of Table 51 does not seem to differentiate between people of the ghetto and suburbs, the second question suggesting that "city people are often a bunch of wise guys" does. More than half of the suburbanites disagree with this statement while only 38.6 of the ghetto residents do likewise. The difference becomes larger, 30.7 to 15.4 percent, respectively, for people who strongly agree with the statement, "city people are a bunch of wise guys." The variation increases even more when the two groups are matched, which is probably because the suburban groups are younger. The corresponding proportions in that case are 37.5 and 12.9 percent for ghetto and suburbs. Younger suburbanites who usually associate more with non-Appalachians feel more like urbanites themselves and, as we indicated before, behave more obertly like them. The same is true with the third question of Table 51 which also refers to undesirable attributes of the urban people.

Finally, and again as was the case with the first question, differences between the two groups tend to disappear when reference is made to a favorable statement about country people. Ninety-one and five-tenths percent of the ghetto residents and 89.5 of the suburbanites agree with the statement,"country people have a simple, healthy neatness about them." Most probably city born people would have answered these questions differently, and this would indicate the potential for conflict due to the inconsistency in status expectation.

Reasons Why Migrants Return. Some additional indications about the way migrants perceive city life and work in relation to that of West Virginia can be found in the reasons why returned migrants came back to West Virginia. Seven different reasons which might have made migrants return were presented to the respondents who were then asked to check first, second, and third most important reasons why they came back. Of these seven reasons tabulated in Table 52, the most frequently mentioned as first choice, 24.6 percent, is that they got a job in West Virginia. This same reason has also been mentioned by a considerable number of respondents as a second choice, 22.2 percent. Still 45.4 percent of the respondents did not return to West Virginia because they had a job there. We know from previous data that a large number of these returned people are retired. But, in addition, to those who are retired a number of younger men came back for reasons other than a job. Such people are shown on the right side of Table 52 in which only respondents who are matched with the migrant groups (which are younger) are included. In that case 47.9 percent of returned migrants did not come simply because they had a job.

The second important reason migrants returned to West Virginia is that they were laid off. Twenty-two and eight-tenths percent of the returned migrants gave this as their first reason for coming back, and 5.8 percent gave it as a second reason.

The third important reason migrants came back is that they missed their friends and relatives. In this case, however, only 6.2 percent of the respondents gave this as their first choice, 13.4 percent as seonc, and 11.8 as third. In other words, only 31.4 percent of the respondents have checked this reason in the questionnaire including checking it as a second or third choice.

Table 52: Reasons (first, second, and third) that Respondent Returned to West Virginia for Returned Migrants, for Matched and Total Groups.

Choice	Returned Migrant	
	Total Group	Matched Group
Reason: I was laid off.		
A choice	22.8	18.0
B choice	5.8	4.7
C choice	4.2	3.4
No choice	67.2	73.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(233)	(68)
Reason: Missed mountains and open spaces.		
A choice	2.7	5.9
B choice	7.0	13.2
C choice	6.6	7.4
No choice	83.7	73.5
Total Percent	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(234)	(68)
Reason: Missed my friends and relatives.		
A choice	6.2	10.4
B choice	13.4	17.9
C choice	11.8	11.9
No choice	68.6	59.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(233)	(67)
Reason: Don't like living in cities.		
A choice	3.3	5.9
B choice	6.5	8.8
C choice	10.8	14.7
No choice	79.4	70.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(234)	(68)
Reason: Did not have the respect that I have here.		
A choice	0.6	0.0
B choice	0.6	0.0
C choice	1.9	5.4
No choice	96.9	94.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(234)	(68)

Continued

Table 52: Continued.

	Returned Migrant	
Choice	Total Groups	Matched Groups
Reason: Got a job in West Virginia.		
A choice	24.6	20.9
B choice	22.2	16.9
C choice	7.8	14.3
No choice	45.4	47.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(234)	(68)
Reason: Work was too hard for the money.		
A choice	1.0	3.4
B choice	2.3	3.4
C choice	2.3	3.4
No choice	94.4	89.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(234)	(68)

The fourth reason people gave was that they did not like city life. Again, including the first three choices, only 20.6 percent checked it as a choice. The fifth reason was that they had missed the mountains and open spaces, which also includes the first three choices, and is checked by only 16.3 percent of the returned migrants. Very few people said that they came back because the work was too hard for the money or because they did not have the respect they had in West Virginia.

In general, then, we may say that besides retirement, the main reason migrants return to West Virginia is employment; they either have lost their jobs in the city or found a job in West Virginia. The three other reasons which have been checked with some frequency are "missing friends and relatives," "missing mountains and open spaces," and "disliking city life." But still all these reasons, even combined, are less important than employment which, in turn, is linked to income and level of living. These findings, therefore, are in line with the theoretical framework we presented in the introduction of this report which suggested that Appalachian migration to a large extent had its roots in the desire to secure means to attain the income and level of living which the new mass society expected. Of course, it should be understood that other reasons, such as liking the rural community way of life, are also important because otherwise migrants with jobs would have stayed in the city.

What Kind of Wages Could Bring The Migrants Back. Table 53 deals specifically with income and shows the proportion of present weekly wages in Cleveland which might induce return to West Virginia. Twenty-three and four-tenths percent of the ghetto residents and 32.0 percent of the suburbanites are not interested in returning to West Virginia even if they

Table 53: Proportion of Present Weekly Wages in Cleveland Which Would Induce Return to West Virginia for Ghetto and Suburb for Total and Matched Groups.

Required Percent of Present Wage	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburb	Ghetto	Suburb
40.0%	0.6	1.6	1.4	0.6
50.0%	3.9	3.5	4.1	4.5
60.0%	4.5	3.3	6.8	5.7
70.0%	9.7	7.0	12.3	9.6
80.0%	21.4	13.8	19.2	16.6
90.0%	11.7	11.9	12.3	12.6
100.0%	24.7	26.8	23.3	26.8
Don't want to return	23.4	32.0	20.5	33.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(154)	(369)	(73)	(157)

had the same job and the same income in their own state. For one reason or another, and regardless of the economic factor, these people prefer the city, but suburbanites prefer it more. The difference between the suburbanites who like to remain in Cleveland and the ghetto residents becomes more pronounced when the groups are matched; the probable reason for the increased differentiation is that there are more young people in the suburban group when the four groups are matched. Approximately one-fourth of the respondents would go back to West Virginia only if they could make the same wages they are making in Cleveland. In other words, half of the migrants either don't want to go back, or they would go back only if they could make the same wages. But approximately one-third of the respondents (including more suburbanites) would go back only if they could make 80 or 90 percent of their Cleveland wages. Further, 18.7 percent of the ghetto residents and 15.4 percent of the suburbanites would go back even if they could make 70 percent or less of the wages they are making in Cleveland.

It is obvious that there are a number of reasons besides income or the liking for city life which make people decide to stay in Cleveland or go back since many would return only if a very large proportion of their current wages was offered to them in West Virginia. Presence of members of their families, educational opportunities for children, future employment of children, and similar reasons probably affect decisions. Regardless of these reasons, however, as things stand now, these are the financial conditions under which migrants would go back to West Virginia.

Job Satisfaction and Attitudes Toward Welfare

Opinions as to Why Some Have Low Level of Living. Many of the conditions we described in the previous pages are consequences of social processes and, in particular, of the way social strata perceive themselves or are perceived by others. The central hypothesis of the present paper, as a matter of fact, deals with conditions in Appalachia which are consequences of the way rural Appalachians in later years tend to perceive themselves as a deviant group unable to keep up with the level of living standards of the larger American society. A crucial aspect of the stereotype of this attribute can be found particularly in the very low level of living of the rural Appalachian. Outside pressures on Appalachia as a whole, therefore, are often turned by the Appalachians themselves against those who possess the attributes of the stereotype. Table 54 includes responses to six questions dealing with attributes of commonly mentioned or implied reasons as to why low income people remain in that stage. Each respondent indicated which he thought might be the first, second, or third reason (choice) as to why low income people remain as they are.

The most often mentioned as both first and second reason for this phenomenon states that "low income people are satisfied with their present way of life and are not too interested in changing things." More non-migrants (38.9 percent) have checked this reason as first choice than migrants (31.5 percent). The difference between the two groups becomes slightly more pronounced when they are matched (Table 54).

The second most often mentioned reason, as both first and second choice, is that "the kinds of jobs which are available and the locations--where they can be found--discourage them from trying hard." In contrast to the previous statement, this time the largest proportion of respondents who checked this

Table 54: Choice of Reasons for the Low Standard of Living of Some West Virginia Residents, First, Second, and Third Reasons for Non-Migrants and Returned Migrants for Total and Matched Groups.

Choice	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant
Question: Are satisfied with their present way of life and are not too interested in changing things.				
A choice	38.9	31.5	42.2	33.8
B choice	25.1	28.5	21.7	28.4
C choice	15.1	12.8	16.3	12.2
No choice	20.9	27.2	19.8	25.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(234)	(166)	(74)
Question: Believe that the fate of a person is predetermined and trying hard will not change things much.				
A choice	3.2	3.0	3.6	4.0
B choice	10.2	8.5	12.0	13.5
C choice	12.7	10.7	10.2	12.2
No choice	73.9	77.8	74.2	70.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(234)	(166)	(74)
Question: They do not like to work.				
A choice	12.5	16.6	12.7	14.9
B choice	15.5	14.5	18.7	9.5
C choice	21.9	19.2	22.9	18.9
No choice	50.1	49.7	45.7	56.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(235)	(166)	(74)
Question: Their health is poor.				
A choice	4.3	3.1	3.5	1.4
B choice	11.6	9.4	14.5	12.2
C choice	12.3	18.8	13.9	17.4
No choice	71.8	68.7	68.1	69.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(235)	(166)	(74)

Continued

Table 54: Continued.

Choice	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant
Question: Believe that work takes too much "effort in a man's life."				
A choice	2.8	0.9	4.2	0.0
B choice	7.8	6.9	7.8	9.5
C choice	10.5	9.0	9.6	6.8
No choice	78.9	83.2	78.4	83.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(235)	(166)	(74)
Question: The kinds of jobs which are available and the locations discourage them from trying hard.				
A choice	24.8	29.8	22.9	35.1
B choice	22.2	23.4	18.7	20.3
C choice	16.7	17.5	20.5	16.2
No choice	36.3	29.3	37.9	28.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(235)	(166)	(74)
Question: Other Reasons.				
A choice	12.9	14.5	12.1	9.5
B choice	4.2	5.2	4.2	4.0
C choice	5.8	8.2	4.8	13.5
No choice	77.1	72.1	78.9	73.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(235)	(166)	(74)

reason as first choice were the returned migrants (29.8 versus 24.8 percent of non-migrants, sixth question of Table 54). In other words, returned migrants, who, as compared with the other groups, have the highest proportion of respondents with low income and level of living, feel more than non-migrants that low income people remain in this stage not because they are satisfied with their present way of life (first question) but because "the kinds of jobs which are available and the locations discourage them from trying hard."

The third reason which has been checked often as first and second, but in particular as third choice is that these low income people "do not like to work." In other words, although disliking work is not seen by many as the primary reason why low income people remain in their present state, in the back of the minds of many, disliking of work is seen as an additional factor keeping low income people, and particularly those who exhibit symptoms of poverty, where they are. Returned migrants, who are often themselves low income people, in larger proportion (16.6 versus 12.5 percent) have checked this as a first reason. Many returned migrants are older people, and many had found relatively good jobs before they returned to West Virginia. In fact, people who are employed, do relatively well, and live in low income areas are often very hostile toward those on relief and those who exhibit attributes of those in poverty. In general, however, those who are in poverty, as a brief survey of views of nutrition aids working with such people indicated, possess physical (including old age), mental (including lack of education), and psychological factors which keep these people in their present stage. [36]

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[36] Personal and Family Development, Appalachian Center, West Virginia University.

A few, however, who collect welfare or exhibit poverty attributes and are physically and mentally fit, usually act as targets for many who, for a variety of reasons, possess hostility potential. Psychological reasons are usually not considered ligitimate and, therefore, the increased pressure on low income people often increases their frustration and forces them into retreat, sometimes into closer association with others in similar situations. In general, according to some old timers, unwillingness to work is seen with more understanding and lesser need for social punishment than before. This is the case in spite of the fact that there are in recent years strong societal pressures to remove poverty attributes from rural Appalachia.

Other reasons such as fatalism, indicated by the second question of Table 54, "belief that the fate of a person is predetermined and trying hard will not change things," poor health, and "belief that work takes too much effort in a man's life" are seen as less important reasons why some people remain in poverty.

Job Expectations and Job Satisfaction. In the previous pages, directly or indirectly, we suggested that feelings of relative deprivation of income and level of living have mobilized rural Appalachians to move to the city where jobs were available. What was available in Appalachia for the unskilled rural resident and what was available for him in the city outside Appalachia was more often the least desirable job concerning physical effort and subordinate status. The purpose of Table 55 is to show how people in Appalachia and returned migrants, who had probably experienced jobs of this kind, feel in relation to this type of deprivation.

The five questions of Table 55 are designed to measure opinions of

Table 55: Questions and Scale Concerned with Social Expectation and Job Satisfaction for Non-Migrants and Returned Migrants, for Matched and Total Groups.

	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
Degree of Agreement	Non-Migrants	Returned Migrants	Non-Migrants	Returned Migrants
Question: Jobs that people don't like, but have to take, strengthen their willingness for a successful life.				
St. mod. agr.	44.9	55.4	49.1	57.4
Sl. agr., sl. disagr.	25.9	16.8	29.7	18.7
St., mod. disagr.	29.2	27.8	21.2	23.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(882)	(238)	(165)	(75)
Question: It is better not to have modern conveniences than work in a job or town that you don't like.				
St., mod. agr.	37.8	47.3	34.7	44.0
Sl. agr., sl. disagr.	27.6	19.7	32.9	16.0
St., mod. disagr.	34.6	33.0	32.4	40.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(884)	(239)	(164)	(75)
Question: It is better to collect unemployment than work in a job you don't like.				
St., mod. agr.	9.5	10.0	7.9	10.7
Sl. agr., sl. disagr.	11.0	9.6	11.5	9.3
St., mod. disagr.	79.5	80.4	80.6	80.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(888)	(239)	(165)	(75)
Question: Poverty will disappear when decent jobs will become available.				
St., mod. agr.	26.9	31.9	27.9	32.0
Sl. agr., sl. disagr.	20.2	17.3	24.2	16.0
St., mod. disagr.	52.9	50.8	47.9	52.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(889)	(238)	(165)	(75)

Continued

Table 55: Continued.

Degree of Agreement	Total Groups: Non-Migrants	Total Groups: Returned Migrants	Matched Groups: Non-Migrants	Matched Groups: Returned Migrants
Question: The world is unfair; you are expected to be like everyone else but the jobs we have to take are worse than those of others.				
St., mod. agr.	15.5	15.0	19.3	11.1
Sl. agr., sl. disagr.	17.8	21.5	21.0	27.8
St., mod. disagr.	66.7	63.5	59.7	61.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(868)	(234)	(161)	(72)
Social Expectations and Job Satisfaction Scale				
High (20-35)	19.1	20.6	16.9	20.8
Med. (14-19)	39.8	40.8	41.2	37.5
Low (5-13)	41.1	38.6	41.9	41.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(854)	(233)	(160)	(72)

West Virginians about accepting or retaining poor jobs which are the kind usually offered to those who are unqualified and often in poverty. Approximately 45 percent of non-migrants and a little over 55 percent of the returned migrants feel that "jobs people don't like but have to take, strengthen their willingness for a successful life." On the other hand, a little less than a third of the respondents disagree strongly or moderately with this statement. It might be that people with weaker achievement orientation and stronger feelings of relative job deprivation feel this way. Returned migrants, who have probably experienced the situation the first question of Table 55 describes, express agreement with it in larger proportion (55.4 percent) than the other groups.

However, the next question which suggests that "it is better not to have modern conveniences than work in a job or town that you don't like" indicates unfavorable opinion toward remaining in a bad job, and returned migrants again in higher proportions (47.5 percent, Table 55) strongly or moderately agree. Higher level of living, in other words, is not enough reason for them to stay in a poor city job. The level of living in Table 12, which we presented before, verifies this by indicating that returned migrants have the lowest level of living among the four groups.

Although only about one-third of the respondents in both groups strongly or moderately agree that it is better to work in a job you don't like than have a low level of living, a much larger proportion, about four-fifths of the respondents in both groups, feel the same way about collecting unemployment (third question of Table 55). Only one in ten in both groups strongly or moderately agree that it is better to collect unemployment than work in a job you don't like. By controlling variables such as health, alienation and similar variables, a study of characteristics of this ten percent will indicate the people who consider advisable collecting welfare until a good job is found. They might be people with more education and

liberal views on this matter or people who have learned such attitudes from a family familiar with welfare. At least fifty percent of the respondents in both groups probably feel that a culture of poverty based on collecting welfare does exist because about fifty percent of the respondents in both groups strongly or moderately disagree with a statement suggesting that "poverty will disappear when decent jobs become available." Only a little over one-fourth of the respondents (26.9 and 31.9 percent for non-migrants and returned migrants) agree with the statement. In other words, the majority of the general public in the state of West Virginia (assuming that our sample is more or less random) feel that better jobs, as many claim, will not solve the poverty problem.

Data from the present samples and other sources have shown that psychological, sociopsychological, socioeducational, and physical reasons are associated with poverty and attitudes toward welfare. These, then, are factors which, along with better jobs or guaranteed minimum income, should be considered when the expected large scale programs are implemented since not only does the general public not presently expect feasible economic solutions to eliminate poverty, but sociological theory points to the same conclusion. Let us look at two generalizations directly applicable: (1) poverty is related more to one's relative position in society than actual income. A German in Germany, for instance, with the income of an Appalachian exhibiting the attributes of poverty, does not exhibit these symptoms, and his morale, relative to the Appalachian, is high; (2) a generalization of a higher level suggests that the faster technology changes, the higher the alienation and apathy. We know that technology changes at an accelerated rate, and it will probably continue doing so, and therefore, the victims

will continue increasing. Consequently, guaranteed minimum income or better jobs will undoubtedly help even psychologically but will not guarantee a conforming citizen who because of social demands will have a neat little house, clean children and sound morals.

The fifth question of Table 55 further supports the previous speculations and disproves the hypothesis that returned migrants who had experienced poor jobs outside the state would in larger proportions agree with the statement that "the world is unfair; you are expected to be like everyone else but the jobs you have to take are worse than those of others." As a matter of fact, when the two groups are matched, more non-migrants than returned migrants strongly or moderately agree with the statement; the corresponding proportion for non-migrants is 19.3 and for returned migrants 11.1 percent (right side of Table 55, fifth question). Finally, the scale which uses the summary score of all five questions indicates that there are no differences between returned migrants and non-migrants concerning job expectations and satisfaction. In other words, and in very broad terms, we may say that returned migrants, although they had some unfavorable job experiences in the city, do often feel that society has offered them a bad deal. (They probably feel that this is how society is, and one must start from there). On the other hand, this is the kind of belief which can lead to alienation and confusion; in fact, returned migrants as shown in Table 6 have higher scores than non-migrants in the scale which measures, "bewilderment and confusion." It is a situation similar to that faced by the small businessman who believes in competition and hard work, but his business keeps failing because a chain store has opened across the street.

Attitudes Toward Welfare. We have examined above the way those who have no other alternatives look at the poor jobs which are offered to them. Often the alternative to accepting such a job is joining welfare roles, and we examine here the respondents' attitudes toward welfare.

Five questions are used to measure attitudes toward welfare, and, in particular, attitudes toward the role welfare is playing in American society today. About half of the respondents strongly or moderately disagree with a statement suggesting that "the government should guarantee full employment and retirement income for everyone" (first question of Table 56). Still, about a third of the respondents agree with the same intensity with this same statement, but in the two low income groups, the returned migrants and the ghetto residents, larger proportions (37.0 and 37.2 percent) respectively agree with the statement. Those who agree the least and disagree most with the statement are the non-migrants among whom there are many high income individuals.

Our respondents are divided about equally in relation to a statement suggesting that "social security, unemployment insurance and other such welfare services tend to destroy initiative," but, again, the low income groups and in particular the ghetto residents tend to disagree most. In similar fashion the two low income groups agree with a reverse statement that "social security, unemployment insurance, and other such welfare services offer the security poor people need." Only about one in ten of the respondents disagree with the statement, and those who disagree least (5.4 percent, third question of Table 56) are the least secure, ghetto residents.

The fourth question of Table 56 deals with public relief, and it indicates that more than a third of the respondents feel that it hurts the

American way of life. But, on the other hand, a little less than a third of the respondents seem to disagree with the statement. Regardless of what changes in attitudes will take place in the future, and there are reasons to expect that these changes will take place, at least today, West Virginians are divided on the matter. This division, however, is not determined to any significant extent by the nature of the groups which we are examining here but in some ways may be determined in terms of income and professional skill.

As was the case above in the third question of Table 56 which indicates a need for security, the results of the fifth question of Table 56 indicates a need to adjust to new societal changes; a higher proportion of respondents strongly or moderately agree with this fifth question. In simpler terms, people see the utility of these programs more as a guarantee against mishaps produced by change than simply security. Furthermore, if people see such a need, and the speed of change will in the future increase, the government, whose role is to meet people's needs, will have to respond to these new needs. Thus, the majority of the respondents, in spite of unfavorable attitudes toward larger government, want, at least in terms of consequences of change, more government involvement.

Finally, as demonstrated above, the lower income and level of living groups are shown in the summary score of Table 56 to have more favorable than the other two groups' attitudes toward welfare.

Table 56: Questions and Scale Concerned with Attitudes Toward Welfare Services for Non-Migrant, Returned Migrant, Ghetto and Suburb, for Matched and Total Groups.

Degree of Agreement	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Question: The government should guarantee full compensation and retirement income for everyone.								
St., mod. agr.	27.4	37.0	37.2	33.7	34.6	40.5	40.6	32.6
Sl. agr., sl. disagr.	20.8	15.6	17.6	17.7	21.8	14.9	20.3	18.4
St., mod. disagr.	51.8	47.4	45.2	48.6	43.6	44.6	39.1	49.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(887)	(238)	(164)	(385)	(165)	(74)	(74)	(163)
Question: Social security, unemployment insurance, and other such welfare services, tend to destroy initiative.								
St., mod. agr.	31.6	30.3	21.7	34.0	26.7	19.0	21.6	33.1
Sl. agr., sl. disagr.	33.5	24.9	41.0	28.6	35.8	31.1	36.5	27.7
St., mod. disagr.	34.9	44.8	37.3	37.4	37.5	49.9	41.9	39.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(886)	(237)	(166)	(385)	(165)	(74)	(74)	(166)
Question: Social security, unemployment insurance, and other such welfare services offer the security poor people need.								
St., mod. agr.	61.8	71.1	70.6	64.9	67.5	65.3	69.3	65.0
Sl. agr., sl. disagr.	23.8	17.6	24.0	22.9	23.3	20.0	25.3	23.5
St., mod. disagr.	14.4	11.3	5.4	12.2	9.2	14.7	5.4	11.5
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(890)	(239)	(167)	(388)	(163)	(75)	(75)	(163)
Question: Public relief hurts the American way of life.								
St., mod. agr.	40.0	38.0	35.8	36.3	37.4	30.8	37.8	34.4
Sl. agr., sl. disagr.	32.2	29.9	35.7	29.7	35.0	30.6	32.4	27.8
St., mod. disagr.	27.8	32.1	28.5	34.0	27.6	38.6	29.8	37.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(889)	(237)	(165)	(383)	(163)	(75)	(74)	(163)

Continued

Table 56: Continued.

Degree of Agreement	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Question: Social security, unemployment insurance and other such welfare services are a must in today's changing world.								
St., mod. agr.	66.2	77.6	79.6	73.5	75.5	78.7	80.0	73.9
Sl. agr., sl. disagr.	22.5	16.5	12.0	18.9	15.3	16.0	8.0	20.0
St., mod. disagr.	11.3	5.9	8.4	7.6	9.2	5.3	12.0	6.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(878)	(237)	(167)	(385)	(163)	(75)	(75)	(165)
Attitude Toward Welfare Services Scale								
High (26-35)	27.0	36.5	37.0	29.5	30.7	46.0	37.0	28.3
Med. (20-25)	41.0	38.7	40.7	42.5	45.7	32.5	42.5	47.0
Low (5-19)	32.0	24.8	22.3	28.0	23.6	21.5	20.5	24.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(863)	(233)	(162)	(389)	(160)	(74)	(73)	(166)

Type of Government Which Should Have Responsibility with Action Programs.

Table 57 shows responses to questions concerned with the type of government which should be the most instrumental in bringing about economic development, and it indicates that at least in West Virginia, more people see the State fit for that role than the federal, local and county governments. The county government is favored the least, and respondents who favor it are probably open community residents.

Table 57: Level of Government Leadership Respondent Feels Should be Instrumental in Bringing about Economic Development in State for Non-Migrant and Returned Migrant, for Matched and Total Groups.

Level of Government	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant
Local	22.1	23.0	18.8	21.6
County	11.5	8.7	13.8	9.5
State	42.3	37.0	43.1	28.4
Federal	24.1	31.3	24.3	40.5
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(863)	(230)	(160)	(74)

Perception of Social Position and Life Satisfaction in Cleveland and West Virginia

Change in Social Position. As stated previously, in order to secure a higher level of living, the migrant is forced to leave his Appalachian community and move to the city. Often he does this at the expense of the social position he occupies and sometimes cherishes. Our West Virginia respondents in Cleveland were asked to rank the social position they feel they had in their community in Appalachia on a scale ranging from one to eight with eight representing the highest position one might have in that community and one the lowest. The same request was made for self-ranking in a similar fashion in Cleveland or whatever migrants considered their community there, not including kinship or friendships systems. In fact, to many ghetto residents the ghetto itself is seen as their community while suburbanites consider their community the satellite town where they reside.

Table 58 shows the proportion of respondents who have placed themselves on the various positions of the eight category scale. As might be expected, the majority have placed themselves somewhere in the middle of the social ladder. But both ghetto and suburban residents have placed themselves in higher positions in their communities in West Virginia. Specifically, more ghetto than suburban residents have checked the top number 8 category as their social position in West Virginia (45.6 against 8.4 percent, respectively), but in all other upper positions, categories 5 to 7, suburbanites are represented in higher proportions. The opposite is true for the lower social positions (categories 4 to 1) where ghetto residents are represented in larger proportions. In other words, in actual numbers suburbanites have had higher social position in West Virginia than

Table 58: Comparison of Respondents' Self-report of Social Status Position in West Virginia and in Cleveland at the Time of the Interview for Ghetto and Suburbs for Matched and Total Groups.

Social Status Position Rank Order		Total Groups				Matched Groups			
		Ghetto		Suburb		Ghetto		Suburb	
		Cleveland	W.Va.	Cleveland	W.Va.	Cleveland	W.Va.	Cleveland	W.Va.
	8	6.2	15.6	3.7	8.4	1.4	17.2	3.1	6.8
High	7	2.5	8.8	3.5	9.4	0.0	11.4	2.5	8.1
	6	6.8	11.3	19.9	19.9	4.2	10.0	16.7	21.1
	5	27.2	19.4	39.1	25.8	36.0	20.0	37.0	25.5
	4	38.9	28.7	28.2	20.8	48.6	31.4	35.2	22.4
	3	11.1	8.1	3.2	8.4	5.6	4.3	3.7	8.6
Low	2	3.7	2.5	0.8	4.9	2.8	1.4	0.6	5.0
	1	3.7	5.6	1.6	2.4	1.4	4.3	1.2	2.5
Total Percent		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases		(162)	(160)	(376)	(371)	(72)	(70)	(162)	(161)

Table 59: Discrepancy Concerning Respondents Status in W.Va. and Cleveland for Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups.

Difference in Rank	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburb	Ghetto	Suburb
+4 - 7	6.4	4.6	10.3	3.8
+3	5.7	6.8	7.2	8.8
+2	15.2	10.2	10.1	10.0
+1	17.0	13.2	21.7	13.8
0	41.8	45.0	40.6	44.3
-1 or less	13.9	20.2	10.1	19.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(158)	(371)	(69)	(160)

ghetto residents.

Excluding the 8th category, suburbanites have indicated that they also have higher social position in the communities they reside in Cleveland. (However, in the eighth upper category in Cleveland there are 6.2 percent ghetto residents and only 3.7 percent suburbanites). The position the respondents think they occupy are naturally not real, at least by the standards experts use to measure them, neither in the community they think they belong in Cleveland or in West Virginia, but represent instead where people feel they belong in terms of what they consider community. These figures, then, excluding again the eighth category, indicate that those who come from higher strata go to better communities and even in those communities occupy a higher position than ghetto residents do in their respective communities. It might be that social status expectation motivates them to act in this fashion, or it might be that one particular aspect of status, education, in particular, has actually determined the difference between the two groups as indicated by the previous table (Table 2) in which suburbanites by comparison have higher formal education. However, the differences between the two groups are retained when the two groups are matched (right side of Table 10), but in this case, higher proportions of suburbanites occupy higher positions in Cleveland including the upper eighth category which includes 3.1 percent of suburbs and 1.6 percent of ghetto residents.

The discrepancy in social status between the respondents' position in West Virginia and Cleveland is presented in Table 10 which indicates that for approximately half of the respondents there is no change in their personal status due to migration. As this table indicates, the same rank difference category includes 41.0 percent of ghetto and 43.0 percent of the suburbanites.

In the greater discrepancy category (4 to 7 rank, Table 59) there are more ghetto residents (6.4 percent) than suburbanites (4.6 percent). The opposite is true for those who feel that they have actually gained status in Cleveland because there are more suburbanites (20.2 percent) than ghetto residents (13.9 percent) in that group.

In general, 55.7 percent of the ghetto residents and 65.2 percent of the suburbanites feel that they either have the same status or gained status by coming to Cleveland. How those who have gained status and those who have lost considerably in social status (4 to 7 category of Table 59) feel because of this loss will be examined in another paper where this dimension (Table 59) will be correlated with other dimensions, such as those indicating life satisfaction and alienation, which are examined in the following pages. However, before we examine those dimensions let us see how loss of status compares with other conditions which bother West Virginians in Cleveland.

Conditions Bothering West Virginians in Cleveland. The conditions which bother West Virginians in Cleveland most are difficulties in adjusting to city life in general. As shown in Table 60 (second page), 26.3 percent of the ghetto residents and 13.4 percent of the suburbanites are bothered very much by their inability to adjust to city life. Altogether 38.9 percent of the ghetto residents and 38.2 percent of the suburbanites are bothered either very much or quite a bit by lack of ability to adjust to city life. On the other hand, 37.7 percent of ghetto residents and 40.4 percent of the suburbanites indicate that adjustment is not at all a problem for them. The second factor which seems to bother migrants in Cleveland most is the absence of old friends and relatives (second question of Table 60); over half of the

Table 60: Extent to Which Certain Conditions Bother West Virginians in Cleveland for Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups.

Extent to which Respondents are bothered by:	Total Groups Ghetto	Total Groups Suburbs	Matched Groups Ghetto	Matched Groups Suburbs
Lack of Mountains				
Very much	5.4	8.7	4.0	10.2
Quite a bit	18.6	20.8	18.7	19.9
Not much	27.5	31.4	22.7	29.5
Not at all	48.5	39.1	54.6	40.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(159)	(381)	(75)	(166)
Absence of Old Friends and Relatives				
Very Much	14.5	18.3	16.3	17.5
Quite a bit	36.7	37.3	29.6	38.6
Not much	18.7	26.0	19.0	22.9
Not at all	30.1	18.4	35.1	21.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(159)	(381)	(75)	(166)
Lower Social Position than in West Virginia				
Very much	7.5	4.9	7.4	4.4
Quite a bit	14.3	14.0	18.0	15.9
Not much	22.4	32.6	22.0	31.5
Not at all	55.8	48.5	52.6	48.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(159)	(381)	(75)	(166)
Being Called Names				
Very much	8.4	10.4	9.3	11.6
Quite a bit	9.6	15.1	5.3	12.2
Not much	22.2	30.5	24.0	32.6
Not at all	59.8	44.0	61.4	43.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(159)	(381)	(75)	(166)

Continued

Table 60: Continued.

Extent to Which Respondents are bothered by:	Total Groups Ghetto	Total Groups Suburbs	Matched Groups Ghetto	Matched Groups Suburbs
Lack of Respect by Non-Appalachians				
Very much	3.0	7.5	2.7	8.0
Quite a bit	16.4	16.3	16.0	17.1
Not much	20.0	32.8	16.0	30.8
Not at all	60.6	43.4	65.3	44.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(159)	(381)	(75)	(166)
Getting the Worse Jobs				
Very much	4.2	3.9	1.3	3.0
Quite a bit	5.4	10.4	5.3	9.6
Not much	15.6	20.6	13.3	21.1
Not at all	74.8	65.1	80.1	66.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(159)	(381)	(75)	(166)
Being Unable to Get Used to City Life				
Very much	26.3	13.4	30.7	9.6
Quite a bit	12.6	25.8	14.7	25.9
Not much	23.4	20.4	20.0	19.9
Not at all	37.7	40.4	34.6	44.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(159)	(381)	(75)	(166)
Disturbance Scale				
High (10 to 21)	20.1	30.7	17.3	29.5
Med. (4 to 9)	45.9	38.1	44.0	36.2
Low (0 to 3)	34.0	31.2	38.7	34.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(159)	(381)	(75)	(166)

respondents, both ghetto residents and suburbanites, have indicated that this factor bothers them either very much or quite a bit. These two problems, the migrants' adjustment to the new culture and the breaking up of old relationships, are from the sociological point of view the most crucial, and, if one is to consider the undesirable aspects of migration, their consequences seem the most detrimental.

The third, fourth and fifth statements of Table 60 deal with conditions related to the loss of status due to migration. The third statement can offer some perspective as to how loss of status, which we treated under the previous subheading, compares with other conditions which bother West Virginians in Cleveland. Twenty-one and eight tenths percent of the ghetto residents and 18.9 percent of the suburbanites indicate that this condition bothers them either very much or quite a bit; however, about half of the respondents in both groups say that loss of status does not bother them at all. This, of course, as shown in Table 59, is probably the proportion of migrants who either do not feel that they have lost any status or feel that they have gained status by coming to Cleveland.

Relatively similar are the reactions which refer to status in respect to the group of Appalachians as a whole, but, in this case and in contrast to the loss of the single individual's status, suburbanites seem to be bothered more by the statements, "Appalachians are called names" or "lack of respect by un-Appalachians," (fourth and fifth statements of Table 60); eighteen percent of the ghetto residents and 25.5 percent of the suburbanites are at least quite a bit bothered by being called names. The difference between ghetto and suburbs on the fifth statement of Table 60 is smaller when the intensity with which the migrants are bothered is considered;

however, when one refers to the proportion of respondents who are not bothered at all by these conditions, the difference in proportions between ghetto and suburbs remains somewhere between approximately sixty and forty-four percent.

Not only are suburbanites who have higher status than ghetto residents bothered more by the image of Appalachians, but upper strata individuals in West Virginia are also bothered more than those of lower strata. The most probable reason for this differential response is that both the upper strata in West Virginia and the suburbanites in Cleveland are more a part of the larger American society, using it more as a reference group than do lower strata. In West Virginia the once idealized mountaineer is seen today by many upper classmen as backward simply because the mountaineer, having a lower level of living today, lowers the image of the Appalachian.

In general, considering the conditions listed in Table 60, we may say that suburbanites are disturbed more about certain conditions in Cleveland than ghetto residents, but in many cases their disturbance is of a different nature. Lack of old friends, being called names and the lack of respect for Appalachians bother them more, but city life in general, which is a crucial factor for successful migration, bothers the suburbanites less than it does ghetto residents.

Life Satisfaction. Societal pressures and simply physical desire for a higher level of living have mobilized a number of West Virginians. Depending on their potential for adjustment, some individuals went to the suburbs, others stayed in the Appalachian ghettos, others returned to West Virginia, and, finally, others never migrated, including people of the same age and education as the migrant group. In the previous papers we have seen

that these four groups, often possessing different characteristics, perceive things differently and have different problems. Table 61 measures satisfaction with various aspects of life, and life in general for the ghetto residents, suburbanites, returned migrants and non-migrants.

First, let us see how satisfied these people are with the kind of job they now have or, as in the case of the unemployed, the kind of job they usually find. More than three-fourths of the respondents are in some way satisfied with their jobs, excluding returned migrants among whom only 70.7 percent are in some way satisfied (first statement of Table 61). High satisfaction as indicated in Table 61 combines various intensities of satisfaction from very high to moderately high, but it does not include dissatisfaction. The same procedure is employed in measuring dissatisfaction.

A lower proportion of respondents in all four groups feel in some way satisfied with their ability to do the things which they would like to do. Ghetto residents are slightly less satisfied with this aspect of life (56.8 percent) than the other three groups.

The life aspect with which all four groups are most satisfied is family life. About ninety percent of all respondents in all four groups are more or less satisfied with their family life. The proportion of satisfied respondents is much lower in their feelings toward the life their community can offer. The most satisfied (65.4 percent) are the suburbanites, and the least satisfied are the ghetto residents (47.3 percent, Table 61). However, the lowest proportion of satisfied respondents is shown in response to a statement referring to the kind of life the Appalachian region can offer. Only in this case are Cleveland residents less satisfied than West Virginians living in their own state, and this is probably one of the reasons they left

Table 61: Satisfaction With Certain Aspects of Life for Non-Migrant, Returned Migrant, Ghetto and Suburb for Total and Matched Groups.

Degree of Satisfaction	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Question: The kind of job you now have or, in case you are unemployed, the kind of job you usually find.								
High satisfaction	78.9	70.7	77.7	78.3	72.7	63.9	78.4	77.2
Low satisfaction	21.1	29.3	22.3	21.7	27.3	36.1	21.6	22.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(876)	(225)	(166)	(384)	(135)	(72)	(74)	(162)
Question: Your ability to do things which you would more or less like to do.								
High satisfaction	67.0	62.3	56.3	62.7	63.4	60.3	56.0	63.6
Low satisfaction	33.0	37.7	43.7	37.3	36.6	39.7	44.0	36.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(885)	(233)	(167)	(283)	(164)	(73)	(75)	(162)
Question: Your family life.								
High satisfaction	92.2	89.3	90.9	90.4	89.7	89.0	86.7	92.6
Low satisfaction	7.8	10.7	9.1	9.6	10.3	11.0	13.3	7.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(884)	(234)	(164)	(387)	(165)	(73)	(75)	(163)
Question: The kind of life your community can offer.								
High satisfaction	57.3	54.7	47.3	65.4	53.7	43.3	47.7	66.7
Low satisfaction	42.7	45.3	52.7	34.6	46.3	56.7	52.3	33.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(886)	(236)	(167)	(384)	(164)	(74)	(74)	(162)
Question: The kind of life the Appalachian Region can offer.								
High satisfaction	48.3	49.8	34.3	19.8	45.2	41.9	37.0	20.0
Low satisfaction	51.7	50.2	65.7	80.2	54.8	58.1	63.0	80.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(882)	(234)	(168)	(374)	(166)	(74)	(73)	(158)
Question: Your life in general.								
High satisfaction	80.5	77.9	77.7	79.6	77.7	79.7	75.7	79.2
Low satisfaction	19.5	22.1	22.3	20.4	22.3	20.3	24.3	20.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(888)	(236)	(166)	(387)	(166)	(74)	(74)	(163)

Continued

Table 61: Continued.

Degree of Satisfaction	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Question: Your overall economic position.								
High satisfaction	59.3	52.9	51.2	62.2	63.0	43.2	50.7	62.6
Low satisfaction	40.7	47.1	48.8	37.8	37.0	56.8	49.3	37.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(888)	(236)	(168)	(387)	(165)	(74)	(75)	(163)

their state. Suburbanites are in particular dissatisfied with the kind of life Appalachia can offer because only 19.8 percent indicated that they would be more or less satisfied with it.

The differences among the four groups disappear when measuring satisfaction with life in general because about four-fifths of the respondents in all four groups are more or less satisfied with their life in general (Table 61, second page). If migration had not given some people a chance to move out of Appalachia, or if some people in spite of their will had to stay in Cleveland because of very strong societal pressures, the picture in Table 61 would probably be quite different. In other words, although there is pressure to move to the city and remain there, the pressure is not too strong to make the majority of people in these groups less satisfied with their life in general. About a fifth of the respondents, however, are dissatisfied with their lives, but this is due to probably some other reason than their decision to migrate or their decision to remain in their old communities or return to them. Migration in this respect might act as an equilibrating process giving people, who are less satisfied with their lives, opportunities to acquire a more desirable way of life.

Migration acts as an equilibrating process primarily in relation to income, and as indicated in the last statement of Table 61, in overall economic position the two lower income groups, returned migrants and ghetto residents, have lower proportions of satisfied respondents (52.9 and 51.2 percent respectively) as compared to the two other groups, particularly the suburbanites who have the highest proportion of satisfied respondents (62.2 percent). Suburbanites, on the other hand, have higher income than

the other four groups. Relative economic deprivation, in other words, is a feeling which is closely determined by the size of one's income. It might be that in the past due to the isolation of rural communities and lower socioeconomic strata this was not the case but now it seems that due to the common desires created by the mass media and the lack of autonomy of certain social systems, even very low SES people tend to compare their income more and more with that of the masses.

How our economic and political system will be developed because of these trends in the future is difficult to say, but what we can now say on the basis of our data and the theoretical introduction of this paper is that first, groups which have lower income are less satisfied with their economic position and second, even in the higher income group (of those we are treating here) there are many, 40.7 percent, among non-migrants and 37.8 percent of suburbanites (Table 61), who are not satisfied with their economic position. It might be, for instance, that lower income suburbanites compare themselves with others of higher income.

The fact remains that in spite of the rapid increase in income in the later years, many people are dissatisfied with their economic position. Our figures show that this dissatisfaction is not as much due to actual size of income but to one's relative position in relation to the other individuals and groups he uses as reference. Furthermore, our theoretical introduction suggests that this is due primarily to the fact that many semiautonomous parts of society are becoming more and more part of the larger society. On this basis lower income groups now desire to reach the standard the larger society more or less has set for them. What is the future then, going to be? Perhaps a large class similar to the standard of the economic elites

will develop, or economic criteria as such will become less important in the future. On the other hand, income differences may remain as they are to provide a challenge for our political system on the basis of a competitive economy, or it may be that the government will become the elite, and among masses, differences will diminish. Let us leave aspects of life in general now to study how migrants in Cleveland are satisfied with the kind of life the city itself can offer.

Table 62 shows that about a third of the migrants are very satisfied with their lives in Cleveland with another third fairly satisfied. In both cases the proportions are higher (38.4 and 44.7 percent) among the suburbanites. Only 10.2 percent of the ghetto residents and 2.1 percent of the suburbanites are very dissatisfied with their lives in Cleveland. Thus, since many ghetto residents are newcomers, one could expect that their attitudes will become more favorable in the future.

Table 63 is similar to Table 62, but it involves more or less projective questions measuring the way the respondent perceives the satisfaction with Cleveland life of other West Virginians. Suburbanites again perceive more satisfaction, but although a comparison with the previous table is not fully justifiable, all respondents, particularly those in the ghetto, seem to perceive lower satisfaction than Table 62 indicated.

In general, particularly for the suburbanites, life in Cleveland is not a torture. Many, as indicated in previous tables, miss aspects of life in Appalachia such as life in the mountains and old friends, but most seem to look forward to city life. As the years go by, for the new generations in particular, city life becomes the only life. The attraction of the primary rural Appalachian community does not seem to appeal to the migrant as it did to his forefathers or even to those who never left it; however, there

Table 62: Satisfaction with Life in Cleveland for Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups.

Extent of Satisfaction	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburb	Ghetto	Suburb
Very Satisfied	33.7	38.4	29.7	35.4
Pretty Satisfied	39.8	44.7	37.8	46.3
Somewhat Dissatisfied	16.3	14.8	20.3	15.9
Very Dissatisfied	10.2	2.1	12.2	2.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(166)	(385)	(74)	(164)

Table 63: Perception as to How Much Other West Virginians are Satisfied with Their Lives in Cleveland for Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups.

Extent of Satisfaction	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburb	Ghetto	Suburb
Most are satisfied	38.3	55.1	29.7	52.8
Some are satisfied	27.5	28.5	32.4	30.4
Few are satisfied	31.1	14.1	35.2	16.8
Don't know	3.1	2.3	2.7	0.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(166)	(385)	(74)	(164)

are still migrants in Cleveland who are dissatisfied with their lives. Further analysis of this data may show that these are older people or people who feel alienated and are bewildered and confused by the new life. In fact, alienation as an attribute of the life in Cleveland will be examined in the subheading which follows. Now let us look at what kind of suggestions migrants have for those West Virginians who might come to Cleveland in the future.

Suggestions for Newcomers to Cleveland. Respondents in Cleveland were asked to mention three suggestions they might have for those West Virginians who were planning to come to Cleveland. Table 64 includes their responses, but, like other tables in this report, the table is not complete because it does not include suggestions mentioned by smaller proportions of respondents. Ghetto residents and suburbanites similarly seem to consider important the suggestion to leave family home until the newcomer finds a job. Finding a house does not seem to be as important probably because there are usually available places in the ghetto. However, the two groups disagree on the ease of finding a job with 22.2 percent of the ghetto residents stating that it is easy to find a job and only 3.3 percent of the suburbanites stating so. It is quite possible that the two groups had in mind different kinds of jobs; suburbanites probably were referring to better jobs, requiring some skill and stability, while ghetto residents considered non-skilled jobs not many people want.

In spite of the availability of jobs, however, 17.2 percent of the ghetto residents and 12.3 percent of the suburbanites feel that one should not come to Cleveland if he does not have to. Considering that this is one of the three most often mentioned suggestions, it becomes obvious that some

Table 64: Advice to Those Who Plan to Migrate to Cleveland for Ghetto and Suburbs.

Type of Advice	Ghetto	Suburb
Leave family home until you have a job.	16.8	18.2
It is easy to find a job.	22.2	3.3
Rent is higher than you expect.	1.2	1.5
When you first come have some money with you.	9.0	5.1
Find a house as soon as you can.	1.2	4.6
Check with the unemployment office when you first arrive.	0.0	7.4
Try to make social contacts.	3.0	3.6
Stay away from the East Side.	4.8	7.2
Do not come if you do not have to.	17.2	12.3
Other	24.6	36.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(167)	(390)

migrants have incurred difficulties which they have not erased in spite of the better jobs they might have found in Cleveland. Analysis of other essay-type questions about what people like in Cleveland have shown that a number of respondents don't seem to like anything in Cleveland. However, others, in particular younger people, similarly dislike life in the old communities in rural Appalachia.

The remaining suggestions involve smaller proportions of respondents. One suggestion which should probably be mentioned and seems to be more important for ghetto residents, is to have some money when first arriving in the city. Finally, another suggestion which at this time seems to be more important for the suburbanites, is to stay away from the East side of Cleveland. From what can be deduced from comments of the interviewer, the main reason for this statement is that: first, the East side is a predominantly Negro area, and second, the Appalachians live primarily on the West side.

Alienation

In very general terms, alienation is seen as the way the individual sees order in society and the extent to which he feels part of society. In more specific terms, alienation is seen as loneliness, estrangement, powerlessness, apathy, need to avoid social contact and exposure, and similar conditions which imply an unhealthy relationship between the individual and his society.

Here we examine two aspects of alienation which seem important for Appalachia and are more or less in line with the theoretical framework which was presented in the beginning of the paper. The first aspect of alienation

we treat under this subheading is, "Bewilderment and Confusion." More specifically, this aspect of alienation refers to the way the individual understands or approves the function of parts of society, which in some way have to do with his welfare. By becoming more and more part of the larger society, as any other American, the Appalachian, especially the rural Appalachian, has been forced to deal more directly with the larger society and understands its institutions.

The second aspect of alienation we examine here deals with mistrust in government and its officials. This is probably the most widely discussed aspect of alienation in respect to rural and low income Appalachians, in particular, having its roots partly in the past and the individualism and mistrust of the early settler. Lower education and isolation have probably contributed to the development of attitudes associated with this aspect of alienation. It has been chosen for analysis here mainly for its significance for programs of community development where trust in government officials becomes an important issue.

Because modern alienation is related to societal change, certain aspects of the individual's sociophychological response to alienation are also discussed under this subheading. More particularly, religion and primary group relationships are treated as means of alleviating anxieties which modern societal changes produce. The aspect of change, of course, which is of more importance to us here is the one associated with migration.

Bewilderment and Confusion. Table 65 includes six questions designed to measure "bewilderment and confusion," and it shows that about half of the respondents at least moderately agree with a statement suggesting that "nobody really has any good answers for the problems that face us today."

However, larger proportions of respondents from the low income and education groups agree (56.1 of returned migrants and 53.3 percent of ghetto residents). The opposite is true for those who strongly or moderately disagree with the statement; in fact, suburbanites have responded more unfavorably to this question than the other three groups.

With the second question of Table 65, "all the experts disagree, so how can a person decide what is right," a lower proportion of respondents than in the previous question strongly or moderately agree. But this time the differences are not between low and high income groups but between people in Cleveland and those in West Virginia. The same is true with the third question of Table 65, "I don't know who is to blame when things go wrong in business," with smaller proportions of Cleveland respondents strongly or moderately agreeing with the statement. A smaller proportion of respondents from Cleveland also strongly or moderately agree with the statement, "it is hard for me to discover who deserves the credit or the blame for what the government does." However, concerning the fifth question of Table 65 stating that "the world is too complicated now to be understood by anyone but experts," which, as the first question, refers to society in general, the lower income and education groups again have the highest proportion of respondents who strongly or moderately agree with the statement.

The sixth question of Table 65, "the more societies progress, the more humans become confused," a general question similar to the first and fifth question, indicates that larger proportions of respondents in the low income and education groups strongly or moderately agree. The corresponding proportions are 55.7 and 58.9 percent for returned migrants and ghetto residents, as compared to 47.9 and 43.7 percent for non-migrants and suburbanites.

West Virginians about accepting or retaining poor jobs which are the kind usually offered to those who are unqualified and often in poverty. Approximately 45 percent of non-migrants and a little over 55 percent of the returned migrants feel that "jobs people don't like but have to take, strengthen their willingness for a successful life." On the other hand, a little less than a third of the respondents disagree strongly or moderately with this statement. It might be that people with weaker achievement orientation and stronger feelings of relative job deprivation feel this way. Returned migrants, who have probably experienced the situation the first question of Table 55 describes, express agreement with it in larger proportion (55.4 percent than the other groups).

However, the next question which suggests that "it is better not to have modern conveniences than work in a job or town that you don't like" indicates unfavorable opinion toward remaining in a bad job, and returned migrants again in higher proportions (47.5 percent, Table 55) strongly or moderately agree. Higher level of living, in other words,is not enough reason for them to stay in a poor city job. The level of living in Table 12, which we presented before, verifies this by indicating that returned migrants have the lowest level of living among the four groups.

Although only about one-third of the respondents in both groups strongly or moderately agree that it is better to work in a job you don't like than have a low level of living, a much larger proportion, about four-fifths of the respondents in both groups, feel the same way about collecting unemployment (third question of Table 55). Only one in ten in both groups strongly or moderately agree that it is better to collect

unemployment than work in a job you don't like. By controlling variables such as health, alienation and similar variables, a study of characteristics of this ten percent will indicate the people who consider advisable collecting welfare until a good job is found. They might be people with more education and liberal views on this matter or people who have learned such attitudes from a family familiar with welfare. At least fifty percent of the respondents in both groups probably feel that a culture of poverty based on collecting welfare does exist because about fifty percent of the respondents in both groups strongly or moderately disagree with a statement suggesting that "poverty will disappear when decent jobs become available." Only a little over one-fourth of the respondents (26.9 and 31.9 percent for non-migrants and returned migrants) agree with the statement. In other words, the majority of the general public in the State of West Virginia (assuming that our sample is more or less random) feel that better jobs, as many claim, will not solve the poverty problem.

Data from the present samples and other sources have shown that psychological, sociopsychological, socioeducational, and physical reasons are associated with poverty and attitudes toward welfare. These, then, are factors which, along with better jobs or guaranteed minimum income, should be considered when the expected large scale programs are implemented since not only does the general public not presently expect feasible economic solutions to eliminate poverty, but sociological theory points to the same conclusion. Let us look at two generalizations directly applicable: (1) poverty is related more to one's relative position in society than actual income. A German in Germany, for instance, with the income of an Appalachian exhibiting the attributes of poverty, does not exhibit these symptoms, and

his morale, relative to the Appalachian is high; (2) a generalization of a higher level suggests that the faster technology changes, the higher the alienation and apathy. We know that technology changes at an accelerated rate, and it will probably continue doing so, and therefore, the victims will continue increasing. Consequently, guaranteed minimum income or better jobs will undoubtedly help even psychologically but will not guarantee a conforming citizen who because of social demands will have a neat little house, clean children and sound morals.

The fifth question of Table 55 further supports the previous speculations and disproves the hypothesis that returned migrants who had experienced poor jobs outside the state would in larger proportions agree with the statement that "the world is unfair: you are expected to be like everyone else but the jobs you have to take are worse than those of others." As a matter of fact, when the two groups are matched, more non-migrants than returned migrants strongly or moderately agree with the statement; the corresponding proportion for non-migrants is 19.3 and for returned migrants 11.1 percent (right side of Table 55, fifth question). Finally, the scale which uses the summary score of all five questions indicates that there are no differences between returned migrants and non-migrants concerning job expectations and satisfaction. In other words, and in very broad terms, we may say that returned migrants, although they had some unfavorable job experiences in the city, do often feel that society has offered them a bad deal. (They probably feel that this is how society is, and one must start from there). On the other hand, this is the kind of belief which can lead to alienation and confusion; in fact, returned migrants as shown in Table 65 have higher scores than non-migrants in the scale which measures

"bewilderment and confusion." It is a situation similar to that faced by the small businessman who believes in competition and hard work, but his business keeps failing because a chain store has opened across the street.

Attitudes Toward Welfare. We have examined above the way those who have no other alternatives look at the poor jobs which are offered to them. Often the alternative to accepting such a job is joining welfare roles, and we examine the respondents' attitudes toward welfare.

Five questions are used to measure attitudes toward welfare, and, in particular, attitudes toward the role welfare is playing in American society today. About half of the respondents strongly or moderately disagree with a statement suggesting that "the government should guarantee full employment and retirement income for everyone" (first question of Table 56). Still, about a third of the respondents agree with the same intensity with this same statement, but in the two low income groups, the returned migrants and the ghetto residents, larger proportions (37.0 and 37.2 percent, respectively)agree with the statement. Those who agree the least and disagree most with the statement are the non-migrants among whom there are many high income individuals.

Our respondents are divided about equally in relation to a statement suggesting that "social security, unemployment insurance and other such welfare services tend to destroy initiative," but, again, the low income groups and in particular the ghetto residents tend to disagree most. In similar fashion the two low income groups agree with a reverse statement that "social security, unemployment insurance, and other such welfare services offer the security poor people need." Only about one in ten of the respondents disagree with the statement, and those who disagree least (5.4

Table 65: Questions and Scale Referring to Bewilderment and Confusion for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburb for Total and Matched Groups.

Degree of Agreement	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Question: Nobody really has any very good answers for the problems that face us today.								
St., mod. agr.	47.1	56.1	53.3	43.3	47.5	49.3	47.9	39.8
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	29.4	24.0	32.1	30.7	32.3	30.7	35.6	33.1
St., mod. dis.	23.5	19.9	14.6	26.0	20.2	20.0	16.5	27.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(885)	(237)	(165)	(388)	(164)	(75)	(73)	(166)
Question: All the experts disagree, so how can a person decide what is right.								
St. mod. agr.	37.6	42.5	25.3	33.6	40.6	36.5	31.5	33.9
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	32.9	26.1	48.7	37.0	35.0	37.8	45.2	37.0
St., mod. dis.	29.5	31.4	26.0	29.4	24.4	25.7	23.3	29.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(869)	(233)	(154)	(384)	(160)	(74)	(73)	(165)
Question: I don't know who is to blame when things go wrong in the business world today.								
St., mod. agr.	44.7	51.5	37.9	40.0	44.1	42.7	31.5	37.0
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	31.9	28.7	42.9	35.8	33.7	42.6	45.2	39.3
St., mod. dis.	23.4	19.8	19.2	24.2	22.2	14.7	23.3	23.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(875)	(237)	(161)	(383)	(163)	(75)	(73)	(165)
Question: It is hard for me to discover who deserves the credit or the blame for what the government does.								
St., mod. agr.	50.7	57.1	45.6	48.3	51.2	50.6	47.9	47.9
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	27.9	21.9	38.1	32.2	31.1	25.3	35.6	30.9
St., mod. dis.	21.4	21.0	16.3	19.5	17.7	24.1	16.5	21.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(876)	(238)	(160)	(385)	(164)	(75)	(73)	(165)
Question: The world is too complicated now to be understood by anyone but experts.								
St., mod. agr.	40.2	48.5	44.6	35.8	42.1	44.0	54.1	35.4
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	27.3	19.0	19.8	27.7	29.2	25.4	12.2	26.8
St., mod. dis.	32.5	32.5	35.6	36.5	28.7	30.6	33.7	37.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(880)	(237)	(166)	(387)	(164)	(75)	(74)	(164)

Continued

Table 65: Continued.

Degree of Agreement	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Question: The more societies progress, the more humans become confused.								
St., mod. agr.	47.9	55.7	58.9	43.7	54.0	52.0	64.8	44.5
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	28.5	22.0	24.6	28.1	26.7	24.0	24.4	28.1
St., mod. dis.	23.6	22.3	16.5	28.2	19.3	24.0	10.8	27.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(876)	(237)	(163)	(384)	(161)	(75)	(74)	(164)
Bewilderment and Confusion scale.								
High (35-42)	30.5	31.8	16.0	19.6	34.0	25.7	22.2	16.3
Med. (23-34)	37.4	42.2	57.8	45.4	41.7	48.7	50.0	48.0
Low (6-22)	32.1	26.0	26.2	35.0	24.3	25.6	27.8	35.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(844)	(230)	(149)	(388)	(156)	(74)	(72)	(165)

The least confused of all four groups appears to be the suburbanites, and the most confused, the ghetto residents, but compared to other statements of Table 65, larger proportions of respondents from all four groups seem to agree that societal progress is confusing.

In general, concerning all six statement, about a fourth of the respondents (including all four groups) have moderate or strong opinions against statements indicating bewilderment and confusion. On the other hand, close to half of them tend to either strongly or moderately agree with the statements. The summary score at the end of Table 65 indicates that the two Cleveland groups are less bewildered and confused than the groups in West Virginia. However, concerning the function of society in general, the lower income and education groups (returned migrants and ghetto) appear more bewildered and confused (see specific questions), while concerning the function of more specific parts of society, the two Cleveland groups appear less bewildered and confused. The differences between Cleveland and West Virginia are retained when the groups are matched in terms of age and education, but in this case, all three migrant groups (including returned migrants) appear to be less bewildered and confused than non-migrants. The largest differences, however, exist between non-migrants--34.0 percent with high scores and 24.3 percent with low scores--and suburbanites--16.3 percent with high scores and 35.7 percent with low scores. In general, then, we can say that bewilderment and confusion is not associated with migration as much as with non-migration, and this is true regardless of age or education which are known to be correlates of alienation. It might be that people become bewildered and confused when they do not have the advantage of the equilibrating process we call migration, but, on the other hand, it might be that less bewildered and confused

people migrate, and this is why migration is related negatively to alienation. In fact, these factors could function either cumulatively or independently.

The unfavorable effect of staying in an area without opportunities for economic achievement can be easily demonstrated with an excerpt of an interview with the county agent of Green Brier County, West Virginia. This man has observed that old established farmers who owned some bottom land and had status in the community in the past often became bewildered when they perceived members of the low status families from the hillsides--whom they often call trash for their lower morals and lower intellect--visiting back home in bigger cars and flashy clothes, not associated with their former status.

Mistrust in Government Officials. This scale is measured with four questions which refer to the individual's faith in public officers. Table 66 shows that about half of the respondents strongly or moderately agree that "people who go into public office are usually out for all they can get," with larger proportions from the low income and education groups agreeing. The corresponding proportions are 55.9 and 58.7 percent for returned migrants and ghetto residents versus 44.7 and 43.7 percent for non-migrants and suburbanites. When the groups are matched, however, ghetto residents remain with the highest proportion of respondents who strongly or moderately agree with the statement (right side of Table 66).

Returned migrants and ghetto residents also have the highest proportion of respondents who strongly or moderately agree that "elected officials become tools of special interest no matter what." However, again when the four groups are correlated for age and education, ghetto residents remain with the highest proportion of respondents (52.7 percent right side of Table 66)

Table 06: Questions and Scale Concerning Mistrust of Government for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburb for Matched and Total Groups.

Degree of Agreement	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Question: People who go into public office are usually out for all they can get.								
St., mod. agr.	44.7	55.9	58.7	43.7	47.9	46.6	54.7	43.1
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	31.1	23.9	25.2	28.4	30.3	22.8	28.0	28.5
St., mod. dis.	24.2	20.2	16.1	27.9	21.8	30.6	17.3	28.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(890)	(238)	(167)	(387)	(165)	(75)	(75)	(165)
Question: Elected officials become tools of special interests, no matter what.								
St., mod. agr.	39.7	49.4	49.3	40.9	43.0	39.2	52.7	37.4
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	35.1	30.0	36.1	31.7	33.1	39.2	31.9	33.6
St., mod. dis.	25.2	20.6	14.6	27.4	23.9	21.6	15.4	29.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(883)	(237)	(158)	(386)	(163)	(74)	(72)	(166)
Question: Local officials soon lose touch with the people who elected them.								
St., mod. agr.	45.4	54.4	62.8	47.4	47.3	53.4	64.9	45.2
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	32.7	23.1	23.8	29.4	34.0	22.6	20.2	31.3
St., mod. dis.	21.9	22.5	13.4	23.2	18.7	24.0	14.9	23.5
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(889)	(239)	(164)	(388)	(165)	(75)	(74)	(166)
Question: If people knew what was really going on in high places, it would blow the lid off things.								
St., mod. agr.	58.0	61.9	64.3	55.7	61.0	59.4	57.8	55.1
Sl. agr., sl. dis.	25.7	22.0	30.0	26.9	28.0	27.1	36.7	27.3
St., mod. dis.	16.3	16.1	5.7	17.4	11.0	13.5	5.5	17.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(875)	(236)	(160)	(386)	(164)	(74)	(71)	(165)
Faith in Governing Scale								
High (24-28)	33.2	43.4	48.8	30.2	37.0	40.5	47.9	28.9
Med. (15-23)	38.3	31.1	35.2	39.2	40.2	35.2	36.6	39.1
Low (4-14)	28.5	25.5	16.0	30.6	22.8	24.3	15.5	32.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(867)	(235)	(156)	(388)	(162)	(74)	(71)	(166)

who strongly or moderately agree with this second statement.

The same pattern is followed in responses to the third question of Table 66 indicating that "local officials soon lose touch with the people who elected them." Returned migrants and ghetto residents have the highest proportion of respondents who strongly or moderately agree with the statement--54.4 and 62.8 percent respectively. Ghetto residents again remain with the highest proportion, 64.9 percent of respondents who strongly or moderately agree when the four groups are matched (right side of Table 66, third question).

The pattern is repeated with the fourth question where, again, returned migrants and ghetto residents have the highest proportion of respondents who either strongly or moderately agree that "if people knew what was really going on in high places, it would blow the lid off things." The pattern, however, is not retained when the four groups are matched, but differences in the responses to this question have been small. What is most noticeable with this question and the next, revealing a strong mistrust of government officials among West Virginians, is the high proportion of respondents who strongly or moderately agree and the low proportion of respondents who strongly or moderately disagree. Among ghetto residents, for instance, the proportion of respondents who strongly or moderately disagree that "very shady deals take place in high places" is only 5.7 percent and remains at approximately that same level when the groups are matched.

One might wonder now about the function of these predispositions in programs of improvement of low income areas and of the chances of conventional government programs have in securing sincere cooperation. On the other hand, one might consider the usefulness of liaison agents, selected among low

income people such as those used by nutrition programs today. Such agents could disseminate simple but useful information and, in particular, information which might in some way reduce the isolation of the low income groups. For instance, these liaison agents, besides disseminating simple subject matter material, could bring low income people in contact with appropriate agencies, help them in some way participate in programs and organizations, and finally, change their attitudes about government.

The summary scale at the bottom of Table 66, as expected, demonstrates that returned migrants and ghetto residents in particular have the highest proportion of respondents with high mistrust scores, 43.4 and 48.8 percent respectively. Noticeable is the difference between ghetto and suburbs which has been demonstrated in most of the tables which we have presented in this report. One, of course, might wonder again whether the suburbanites were either different initially or tended to lose their feelings of alienation and relative deprivations after their relative success. It appears, however, regardless of what the cause might be, that the suburbanites not only have attributes more in line with the expectations of the mass society but tend to perceive society as more orderly and are less confused about it.

The difference in percentages are retained when the four groups are matched (bottom of Table 66). In other words, what makes, for instance, suburbanites much different from ghetto residents in the matters we are considering here is neither their education nor their age.

Up to this point under this subheading, we have discussed aspects of the relationship between the individual and his society which might be considered unhealthy. In the introduction of this paper we suggested that the speed of modern change is disrupting the equillibrium between the individual and his

social environment which in turn produces unhealthy relationships. Below we examine some of the means or sociopsychological mechanisms the individual uses to cope with the frustrations these unhealthy relationships produce.

Religion and Primary Groups as a Buffer to the Outside World. Two of the most commonly discussed mechanisms the individual uses to cope with the frustrations which his sociocultural environment produces are attachment to religion and to primary groups. Below in our four groups we examine reactions to conditions implying need to use religion and primary groups as buffers to cope with frustrations of this nature.

Table 67 includes responses to six questions which are designed to measure the individual's attitudes and direct reactions concerning use of religion as a buffer to the outside world. Such attitudes are, in turn, expected to offer indications as to the needs the individual has for using religion for this purpose. Because of lack of space in the Cleveland questionnaire only the fifth of the six questions was included in that schedule. (Responses to that question are given in Table 68).

Close to seventy percent of respondents from West Virginia strongly or moderately agree that "if one's belief is firmly based, it should serve as a buffer to the outside world" (first question of Table 67). The other statement in Table 67 which is agreed upon by such a high proportion is the third statement indicating that "my faith in God is the best means of forgetting my daily worries." What is noticeable in Table 67, however, is that in all five questions as well as in the summary scale at the end of the table, returned migrants are shown to have more favorable attitudes or direct reactions, and, through implication, probably more need of religion to alleviate anxieties modern societal change and complexity produce. But what

Table 67: Questions and scale for Religion as a Buffer to the Outside World for Non-Migrants and Returned Migrants, for Matched and Total Groups.

Degree of Agreement	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Non-Migrants	Returned Migrants	Non-Migrants	Returned Migrants
Question: If one's belief is firmly based, it should serve as a buffer to the outside world.				
Str. & Mod. Agree.	69.4	72.9	65.0	72.5
Sl. agree. & Sl. Disagree.	22.0	18.2	27.5	26.3
Str. & Mod. Disagree.	8.6	8.9	7.5	1.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(887)	(236)	(160)	(74)
Question: Prayer is, above all else, a means of obtaining needed benefits, protection and safety in a dangerous world.				
Str. & Mod. Agree.	53.0	62.9	57.1	56.7
Sl. Agree. & Sl. Disagree.	25.4	17.7	23.6	23.0
Str. & Mod. Disagree.	21.6	19.4	19.3	20.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(867)	(237)	(161)	(74)
Question: My faith in God is the best means of forgetting my daily worries.				
Str. & Mod. Agree.	64.2	70.5	64.4	66.6
Sl. Agree. & Sl. Disagree.	20.9	18.9	21.3	25.3
Str. & Mod. Disagree.	14.9	10.6	14.3	8.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(870)	(238)	(160)	(75)
Question: Churches should make provisions to have people testify that they are saved.				
Str. & Mod. Agree.	35.6	43.1	40.3	36.0
Sl. Agree. & Sl. Disagree.	23.8	22.4	26.4	26.6
Str. & Mod. Disagree.	40.6	34.5	33.3	37.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(863)	(237)	(159)	(75)

Continued

Table 67: Continued.

Question: Religion is what actually keeps me going.				
Str. & Mod. Agree.	44.2	50.0	40.2	46.6
Sl. Agree. & Sl. Disagree.	35.0	29.9	41.5	34.7
Str. & Mod. Disagree.	20.8	20.1	18.3	18.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(867)	(238)	(159)	(75)
Religion as a Buffer to the Outside World Scale.				
High (28-35)	40.2	50.0	43.8	39.8
Med. (22-27)	26.4	25.4	27.8	34.2
Low (5-21)	33.4	24.6	28.4	26.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(847)	(282)	(158)	(73)

Table 68: Question for Religion as a Buffer to the Outside World for Ghetto and Suburb for Matched and Total Groups.

Degree of Agreement	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburb	Ghetto	Suburb
Question: Religion is what actually keeps me going.				
Str., Mod. Agree.	35.2	30.1	36.5	27.8
Sl. Agr., sl. disagr.	28.5	33.9	28.4	33.9
Str., mod. disagree.	36.3	36.0	35.1	38.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(165)	(383)	(74)	(162)

should be also noticed in this table is that when the two groups, non-migrants and returned migrants, are matched (right side of Table 67) in most of the questions, the situation is shown to be reversed and non-migrants have more favorable attitudes and direct reactions. This reversal is shown more clearly in the summary scale where in the unmatched groups the proportion of respondents with high scores are 40.2 and 50.0 percent for non-migrants and returned migrants, while in the matched groups the corresponding proportions are 43.8 and 39.8 percent. In other words, the fact that returned migrants feel more the need to alleviate anxieties which the new society produced is probably, as previously shown, because they tend to be older.

Finally, comparing all four groups in relation to the statement, "religion is what actually keeps me going" (both Tables 67 and 68), it can be seen that the Cleveland groups and in particular the suburban migrants agree with this statement in lower proportions than residents of the state of West Virginia. The proportions of respondents who strongly or moderately agree with the statement, "religion is what actually keeps me going" for non-migrants and returned migrants are 44.2 and 50.0 percent while for ghetto residents and suburbanites (Table 68) the proportions are 35.2 and 30.1 percent respectively. These differences are retained when the groups are matched. In other words, at least in relation to information we have from responses to the statement, "religion is what keeps me going," it appears that Cleveland migrants and, in particular, suburbanites, regardless of age and education, are people who feel less the need to use religion to alleviate anxieties which modern change and complexity produce. Let us turn now to the use of primary groups as buffers or, more specifically, as means

which allow the individual to keep going in spite of the frustrations modern life produces.

Use of primary groups as a buffer to the outside world, as measured here with three questions shown in Table 68, refers to use of groups such as family, friends, and neighbors, to acquire the strength one needs to keep going in today's world. As was the case with belief in God (first question of Table 67), almost 70 percent of the respondents strongly or moderately agree that "the love and closeness of my family and kin is what keeps me going." This proportion is slightly higher (and becomes higher when the groups are matched) in the three migrant groups, including returned migrants. These indications seem to support the speculations we indicated in the previous chapter that the role of the family in offering support, material or psychological, to its migrants members has, in recent years, been increased. This is the case in spite of the fact that the family in general and even the rural family seems to have declined in importance in recent years.

Much lower proportions of respondents in all four groups strongly or moderately agree with the statement that "the closeness of friends is what keeps me going" (second question of Table 69). But this proportion becomes quite lower (31.2 and 30.9 percent for ghetto and suburbs respectively) in the two Cleveland groups; similarly, the opposite is true for those who strongly or moderately disagree with the statement. In other words, although the family seems to acquire higher importance among migrants, the supportive role of friends, probably because old relationships have been broken, becomes less important. When, in addition to family and friends, neighbors are included in the agreement-disagreement statement (third question of Table 69),

Table 69: Questions and Scale for Primary Group as a Buffer to the Outside World for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Matched and Total Groups.

Degree of Agreement	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Question: The love and closeness of my family and kin is what keeps me going.								
St., mod. agr.	69.5	73.5	72.4	76.3	68.3	78.6	77.4	80.1
Sl. agr. sl. disa.	24.0	18.4	17.4	17.5	24.2	20.0	16.0	14.5
St., mod. disagr.	6.5	8.1	10.2	6.2	7.5	1.4	6.6	5.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(875)	(238)	(167)	(389)	(161)	(75)	(75)	(166)
Question: The closeness of my friends is what keeps me going.								
St., mod. agr.	47.6	51.1	31.2	30.9	47.8	42.7	33.3	29.5
Sl. agr. sl. disa.	38.1	29.6	31.2	41.4	35.4	45.3	34.7	42.2
St., mod. disagr.	14.3	19.3	37.6	27.7	16.8	12.0	32.0	28.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(871)	(237)	(167)	(389)	(161)	(75)	(75)	(166)
Question: If it was not for my family, neighbors, and friends, I would feel lost in this world.								
St., mod. agr.	66.8	76.4	74.9	59.9	70.7	73.4	76.0	58.6
Sl. agr., sl. disa.	21.4	13.5	15.6	27.0	20.7	20.0	14.7	27.4
St., mod. disagr.	11.8	10.1	9.5	13.1	8.6	6.6	9.3	14.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(874)	(237)	(167)	(386)	(160)	(75)	(75)	(164)
Primary Group as a Buffer to the Outside World Scale.								
High (17-21)	46.0	43.9	38.9	44.0	40.3	37.4	44.0	43.4
Med. (12-16)	31.1	29.6	42.5	41.7	34.6	38.7	42.7	41.6
Low (3-11)	22.9	26.5	18.6	14.3	25.1	23.9	13.3	15.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(866)	(237)	(167)	(388)	(159)	(75)	(75)	(166)

the three groups combined appear to be more important in the two lower socioecenomic status groups, returned migrants and ghetto residents. In those two groups 76.4 and 74.9 percent of the respondents strongly or moderately agree with the statement, "If it was not for my family, neighbors and friends, I would feel lost in this world."

Finally, when responses to all these three questions are combined (summary scale, bottom of Table 69) small differences among the four groups appear. In other words, it appears that although there are certain types of primary groups which are more important for certain phases of migration, primary groups in general are of about the same importance to all four groups of all phases of migration, primary groups in general are of about the same importance to all four groups or all phases of migration.

Table 70 includes only one question, and it combines both the element of religion and of primary groups. Close to 60 percent of the respondents feel that "in today's society the only things which really make sense are our religion, family and friends." Suburbanites are represented with the lowest proportion (54.0 percent) of respondents who strongly or moderately agree with this statement while the two lower socioeconomic status groups are represented with the highest proportions among the four groups (66.4 and 66.9 percent for returned migrants and ghetto residents respectively). Differences increase when the four groups are matched, particularly, between ghetto and suburbs; the ghetto group includes 81.3 percent of respondents who strongly or moderately agree with the statement (right side of Table 70) while the suburban group includes only 53.6 percent.

These findings are in line with corresponding findings presented in the previous pages, indicating that alienation, at least the aspects examined

here, is higher among respondents of the two lower socioeconomic status groups; furthermore, differences between ghetto and suburbs are very pronounced. In other words, ghetto residents, regardless of age and education, are more alienated than suburbanites and as a consequence, place more importance on religion and family as means of coping with the frustrations modern society produces.

The results of Table 71 which combines responses to all individual questions included in Tables 67 to 70, imply the use of both religion and primary groups as buffers to the outside world. As was the case with the previous tables, suburbanites have the lowest proportion of respondents who have a strong need to use primary groups and religion to alleviate anxieties the modern world produces. The differences again become more pronounced when the four groups are matched. From the right side of Table 71, it can be seen that only 25.2 percent of the suburbanites have high summary scores while the corresponding proportions for ghetto, returned migrants and non-migrants are 37.9, 35.6, and 38.5 percent respectively.

To look at it from a different point of view, one can say that suburbanites not only materially, as shown in the previous pages, are in more accord with the expectations of the mass society, but either because of this same reason or because of the structure of their personality, they see more order in society. Furthermore, probably because they see more order in society, they have lesser need to alleviate anxieties which modern societal complexity produces by becoming more attached to religion or primary groups. However, the family constitutes an exception to the above findings for suburbanites because when age and education are held constant, suburbanites seem to need their family more than other primary groups in order to alleviate anxieties modern society produces.

Table 70: Question for Primary Group and Religion as a Buffer to the Outside World for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburb for Matched and Total Groups.

Degree of Agreement	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Question: In today's society, the only things which really make sense are our religion, family and friends.								
St., mod. agr.	60.2	66.4	66.9	54.0	63.4	65.3	81.3	53.6
Sl. agr.,sl.dis.	27.4	20.2	22.9	28.0	26.7	22.7	14.7	28.6
St., mod. dis.	12.4	13.4	10.2	18.0	9.9	12.0	4.0	17.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(874)	(283)	(166)	(385)	(161)	(75)	(75)	(164)

Table 71: Primary Group and Religion as a Buffer to the Outside World Scale for Non-Migrants, Returned, Ghetto and Suburbs for Matched and Total Groups.

Scale	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
High (53-63)	35.6	38.1	30.8	28.2	38.5	35.6	37.9	25.2
Med. (41-52)	33.1	37.2	35.3	37.4	36.1	35.6	36.5	38.7
Low (9-40)	31.3	24.7	33.9	34.4	25.4	28.8	25.6	36.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(839)	(231)	(162)	(382)	(155)	(73)	(74)	(163)

Above we have discussed reactions or perceptions which were related to aspects of mental or sociopsychological health; below we look at our four groups from the point of view of the way their members perceive their physical health.

Perception of Physical Health. Perception of physical health is measured with two questions which refer to the way the individual perceives his health and the way he feels his health compares with that of others. The first question of Table 72 refers to perception of the individual's own health indicating a strong difference between migrants and people in the state of West Virginia including returned migrants. Almost twice as many migrants in Cleveland (37.7 and 38.7 percent for ghetto and suburbs respectively) as West Virginians in their own state (23.9 and 20.3 percent for non-migrants and returned migrants respectively) feel that their health is excellent. The difference between Cleveland and West Virginia becomes much wider when it comes to perception of poor health; 12.1 percent of non-migrants and 15.8 percent of the returned migrants feel that their health is either poor or very poor. The corresponding proportions for ghetto and suburbs are only 4.8 and 3.9 percent. Concerning both excellent and poor health results, the difference is more pronounced between migrants who have returned to West Virginia and migrants who have moved to the suburbs. As was the case with evidence concerned with the sociopsychological aspects which we examined in the previous pages, it appears that initial migration to the city ghetto can lead to three stages of adjustment: (a) more successful adjustment and movement to the suburbs, (b)less successful adjustment and return to West Virginia, and (c) the between stage or remaining in the ghetto. Physical and mental health, at least in terms of the evidence

Table 72: Questions and Scale Concerning Health Status for Non-Migrant, Returned Migrant, Ghetto and Suburb for Total and Matched Groups.

Health Status	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
Question: How would you describe your health at the present time?								
Excellent	23.9	20.3	37.7	38.7	25.3	28.3	33.3	37.9
Good	43.1	34.4	44.3	44.9	48.2	41.9	41.3	46.0
Fair	20.9	29.5	13.2	12.5	18.1	21.6	17.4	12.4
Poor	8.1	9.5	3.0	3.1	6.0	4.1	4.0	3.1
Very poor	4.0	6.3	1.8	0.8	2.4	4.1	4.0	0.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(888)	(241)	(167)	(385)	(166)	(74)	(75)	(161)
Question: How would you compare your health with others of your age?								
Better	23.3	23.2	22.2	20.6	18.7	18.9	22.7	20.6
Worse	13.0	16.6	8.4	5.7	10.2	13.5	13.3	7.5
Same	63.7	60.2	69.4	73.7	71.1	67.6	64.0	71.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(887)	(241)	(167)	(384)	(166)	(74)	(75)	(160)
Health Scale:								
8-9	31.2	30.3	44.3	44.3	30.7	33.8	40.0	42.9
7	37.5	26.1	37.1	39.3	44.6	36.4	29.3	41.0
6	16.7	23.7	10.8	10.2	13.9	14.8	18.7	8.7
3-5	14.6	19.9	7.8	6.2	10.8	15.0	12.0	7.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(887)	(241)	(167)	(384)	(166)	(74)	(75)	(161)

the present data can offer, seems to be associated with the stages of initial migration; healthier, physically or mentally, migrants tend to move to the suburbs while those who are less healthy tend to either remain in the ghetto and, depending on the extent of their ill health, even return to West Virginia.

When age and education are controlled (right side of Table 72), the differences among the four groups become reduced. In other words, either age or education is the reason for some of the differences among these groups but not all differences. At least concerning returned migrants we know that there are a number of older people among them and, therefore, because of age they are probably less healthy physically.

Differences among the four groups tend to disappear when respondents were asked, "How would you compare your health with others of your age," the second question of Table 72. From the methodological point of view this finding indicates that there is certain validity in the instruments used here. Because respondents tend to compare themselves with their immediate group, there are approximately equal chances that the randomly selected individual will see himself as having health better or worse than others.

Finally, the differences between West Virginia and Cleveland are shown in the summary scale which includes the total of all questions at the bottom of Table 72. However, because questions such as the second question of Table 72 are not designed for comparison of groups but for correlations, the summary scale shows smaller differences among the groups than the first question.

Appendix A

Part 1: Statements Indicating Way of Life Preferences for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburb, Total Group.

Choice 9				8				7				6			
N*	R*	G*	S*	N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S
Set I															
Statement: To live in the outdoors and pure air of the mountains.															
17%	12%	12%	21%	22%	18%	22%	21%	18%	16%	18%	17%	15%	13%	14%	9%
Statement: To have as much education as one can get.															
2	1	2	8	6	8	6	9	8	8	5	16	12	7	13	14
Statement: To achieve things that others cannot.															
44	47	32	33	18	17	21	20	13	14	18	14	8	8	12	10
Statement: To keep in close contact with God.															
4	4	5	8	4	3	6	10	4	6	3	10	7	6	4	12
Statement: To have the friendship of many people and the time to be with them.															
3	4	3	3	6	6	7	3	9	9	15	6	13	13	13	15
Statement: To put in a solid day's work.															
5	8	5	7	9	11	6	9	12	15	14	11	14	13	14	15
Statement: To have a lot of time to be with your family.															
1	2	2	1	3	3	4	2	8	5	3	6	9	12	5	6
Statement: To have a comfortable living.															
1	0	1	2	5	5	3	4	9	9	11	6	11	17	13	7
Statement: To have time for hobby.															
23	23	36	16	27	30	23	21	19	19	12	15	11	11	9	13
Set II															
Statement: To live in the open country, not the big city.															
19	12	14	22	13	10	12	17	13	15	14	10	15	14	11	11
Statement: To feel close to your family and kin.															
1	1	0	1	2	3	1	3	5	3	2	5	5	4	3	5
Statement: To have time for association with friends.															
3	6	7	3	7	10	11	8	11	8	11	13	17	14	15	16
Statement: To feel you are earning your living with a solid day's work.															
5	3	6	5	7	8	6	6	9	11	10	9	13	14	12	9
Statement: To have the education you should have.															
2	2	3	6	4	3	4	6	5	7	3	9	8	10	8	10
Statement: To have things that would make life easy.															
14	20	26	14	16	19	15	12	18	14	16	13	14	14	15	17

Appendix A,
Part 1: Continued (Total)

5				4				3				2				1				
N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S	Total Percent **
8%	8%	10%	8%	6%	10%	5%	6%	6%	8%	7%	6%	4%	8%	7%	7%	6%	8%	5%	5%	400%
11	14	13	10	14	15	18	14	14	14	17	14	22	21	13	8	11	14	15	7	400
6	6	8	9	4	3	3	4	4	3	3	3	3	2	2	5	1	1	1	2	400
5	3	5	8	5	5	9	8	10	9	14	9	13	11	18	9	48	53	36	25	400
17	18	15	21	19	18	13	18	18	17	15	16	11	14	10	13	4	1	10	6	400
15	15	14	12	17	13	18	13	12	11	14	13	10	10	10	13	6	3	4	7	400
14	13	11	11	15	15	11	14	19	21	19	16	20	22	28	24	12	8	18	19	400
15	15	17	14	15	17	18	12	14	15	12	15	16	11	14	14	15	10	13	27	400
8	7	8	7	6	5	5	10	4	2	4	8	2	1	1	7	1	2	1	3	400
13	11	15	10	8	9	6	10	9	12	11	7	5	7	8	7	6	11	9	7	400
10	8	6	6	13	15	12	8	19	15	15	15	29	38	37	27	17	13	23	31	400
17	19	11	14	18	12	12	15	15	18	13	15	8	11	13	12	3	2	5	4	400
13	14	14	13	19	20	18	16	16	15	15	18	11	9	11	14	8	5	9	11	400
14	17	17	17	15	18	25	16	18	17	18	17	23	17	13	13	12	9	9	6	400
10	9	9	11	10	10	9	10	6	5	3	7	6	6	5	7	5	3	1	11	400

Appendix A, Part 2: (Total)

9				8				7				6			
N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S
Statement: To have a life full of opportunities for recreation.															
16	23	20	12	30	25	31	21	21	21	16	18	12	14	16	14
Statement: To feel God close to you.															
5	5	5	10	4	3	3	12	5	3	6	12	6	6	6	8
Statement: To achieve things considered difficult.															
34	30	19	27	16	18	12	14	13	17	18	12	10	11	11	11
Set III															
Statement: One who lives the country life.															
23	17	14	26	18	16	17	17	17	17	11	13	12	9	13	8
Statement: One who has opportunities to enjoy leisure time.															
19	24	32	13	30	30	26	19	19	17	16	17	10	8	8	14
Statement: One who is close to God.															
5	4	5	9	3	3	3	11	5	3	5	13	5	5	5	11
Statement: One who can succeed where others cannot.															
34	34	22	27	18	17	21	15	14	13	16	13	9	10	12	15
Statement: One who has many good friends.															
2	3	1	4	5	3	7	5	8	9	5	9	16	15	16	12
Statement: One who is really educated.															
3	4	6	7	4	5	3	8	8	6	12	12	9	12	10	12
Statement: One who loves his work.															
3	6	8	4	6	4	6	9	9	11	10	7	12	15	14	11
Statement: One who has all the "best comforts" at home.															
8	5	10	6	12	15	13	10	16	19	20	13	19	22	14	12
Statement: One who has a good family life.															
2	3	1	2	4	5	2	5	4	5	3	3	8	7	6	5

Appendix A, Part 2: Continued (Total)

5				4				3				2				1				
N*	R*	G*	S*	N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S	Total Percent **
8	10	7	8	5	4	4	10	5	3	5	7	2	0	1	6	1	0	1	4	400
6	6	8	9	7	6	8	6	10	11	12	9	11	8	11	10	47	54	41	24	400
10	6	11	11	7	6	5	8	4	5	11	6	5	6	6	6	3	3	6	5	400
8	8	13	10	7	9	10	8	6	6	11	6	5	9	5	5	5	9	7	8	400
8	9	3	12	4	6	5	9	4	2	2	7	4	4	3	5	2	1	4	6	400
5	3	5	7	6	4	8	7	8	11	9	8	11	12	18	9	52	55	43	24	400
8	7	5	8	6	7	8	5	4	7	9	6	4	4	8	6	3	2	1	4	400
18	16	13	17	19	17	16	17	17	24	20	22	14	11	14	10	2	3	8	6	400
13	18	21	12	17	14	18	18	18	17	18	15	19	17	10	8	10	9	2	7	400
16	17	22	13	17	21	17	18	18	8	16	13	12	9	8	17	6	9	1	7	400
13	12	10	17	11	10	12	7	9	10	12	16	6	6	8	11	5	2	3	9	400
11	9	7	5	12	13	7	13	16	16	10	9	26	30	30	29	16	12	35	29	400

* N=Non-Migrant (N=899) R=Returned Migrant (N=238) G=Ghetto (N=166)
S=Suburb (N=383)

** 400 Percent represents the total for all four groups (100% for each group.)

Appendix B,
Part 1: Preference Statements for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs, Matched Groups.

Choice 9				8				7				6			
N*	R*	G*	S*	N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S
Set I															
Statement: To live in the outdoors and pure air of the mountains.															
13	14	12	23	20	15	21	18	18	15	21	16	15	8	15	10
Statement: To have as much education as one can get.															
3	0	0	8	6	7	7	11	10	8	4	17	12	9	10	15
Statement: To achieve things that others cannot.															
48	49	31	33	18	13	22	19	10	14	19	14	9	11	13	10
Statement: To keep in close contact with God.															
1	3	3	10	3	3	3	11	6	6	3	11	7	6	1	13
Statement: To have the friendship of many people and the time to be with them.															
4	8	4	3	8	13	9	3	8	8	11	8	12	10	11	11
Statement: To put in a solid day's work.															
4	4	4	6	7	8	9	11	14	18	11	9	15	16	18	17
Statement: To have a lot of time to be with your family.															
2	1	1	0	4	0	3	3	5	6	4	7	9	11	4	6
Statement: To have a comfortable living.															
3	0	1	1	3	5	1	4	11	10	10	6	11	22	14	6
Statement: To have time for your hobby.															
21	21	39	16	32	34	22	22	17	15	13	15	9	7	10	12
Set II															
Statement: To live in the open country not the big city.															
15	15	12	25	12	14	10	16	9	11	18	11	18	13	9	7
Statement: To feel close to your family and kin.															
1	0	0	0	2	0	1	3	6	4	0	9	4	4	4	5
Statement: To have time for association with friends.															
4	10	9	5	10	15	14	9	11	8	11	7	17	11	12	14
Statement: To feel you are earning your living with a solid day's work.															
4	1	7	4	4	4	6	3	12	8	9	10	15	19	14	12
Statement: To have the education you should have.															
3	1	0	9	1	6	4	8	4	6	3	7	7	10	9	11
Statement: To have things that would make life easy.															
19	24	25	11	19	18	20	9	20	14	13	12	13	13	19	18

Appendix B.
Part 1: Continued (Matched)

5				4				3				2				1				
N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S	Total Percent **
10	7	9	5	9	14	7	6	5	10	4	6	5	8	7	8	5	10	4	8	400
10	11	13	6	15	11	19	13	15	15	15	15	18	23	15	8	10	16	17	7	400
4	4	6	9	3	1	3	4	4	4	3	2	3	3	2	7	0	1	0	2	400
4	3	3	11	6	7	11	7	14	12	17	8	14	10	18	5	46	52	41	26	400
24	19	17	22	20	17	11	20	15	15	13	15	9	8	11	13	1	1	11	6	400
14	12	11	9	18	15	16	15	9	11	17	14	10	11	10	12	8	4	4	8	400
9	14	18	13	15	15	13	14	19	19	18	19	22	23	24	24	17	11	15	14	400
13	16	19	15	12	16	16	12	15	12	13	14	19	14	14	16	12	5	11	28	400
10	14	6	9	3	4	6	10	6	4	3	7	2	1	1	6	1	0	0	3	400
18	7	12	8	8	15	6	9	13	8	14	7	4	8	9	7	4	8	10	10	400
11	7	7	7	15	10	10	8	14	22	18	12	27	34	38	27	22	19	22	31	400
17	21	11	13	22	14	18	18	12	14	9	16	7	6	12	16	1	1	5	3	400
10	14	13	12	21	18	21	15	15	19	14	21	12	13	9	12	6	3	7	11	400
14	14	16	17	13	20	26	17	17	11	16	14	25	19	16	12	15	14	10	6	400
9	11	9	13	6	8	8	11	6	3	2	6	7	10	3	9	2	0	2	12	400

Appendix B, Part 2 (Matched)

9				8				7				6			
N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S
Statement: To have a life full of opportunities for recreation.															
15	21	21	11	29	32	27	22	22	22	18	20	12	8	14	14
Statement: To feel God close to you.															
3	4	3	11	4	3	0	16	3	1	4	9	4	8	7	10
Statement: To achieve things considered difficult.															
36	24	21	24	20	8	14	14	15	25	23	15	10	14	8	10
Set III															
Statement: One who lives the country life.															
19	22	9	27	16	15	19	14	16	15	15	12	13	11	13	5
Statement: One who has opportunities to enjoy leisure time.															
24	19	36	12	28	31	25	17	20	17	16	15	9	10	9	13
Statement: One who is close to God.															
3	7	4	12	3	1	0	13	4	7	3	10	4	3	4	13
Statement: One who can succeed where others cannot.															
34	35	22	23	24	15	16	16	12	7	22	18	8	8	11	17
Statement: One who has many good friends.															
2	3	1	3	3	8	3	5	11	13	3	11	18	17	12	9
Statement: One who is really educated.															
2	4	9	8	4	6	3	10	5	6	14	13	9	11	11	12
Statement: One who loves his work.															
4	4	7	5	5	4	9	9	14	11	7	6	13	8	16	14
Statement: One who has all the "best comforts" of home.															
11	4	9	8	13	15	17	9	16	18	17	10	19	22	14	12
Statement: One who has a good family life.															
1	1	0	2	4	3	4	7	4	7	0	6	8	10	7	5

Appendix B,
Part 2: Continued (Matched)

5				4				3				2				1				
N*	R*	G*	S*	N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S	N	R	G	S	Total Percent **
11	10	11	7	4	3	0	10	6	4	8	7	2	0	2	4	0	0	0	4	400
5	7	7	12	7	4	7	6	15	14	13	7	11	8	14	11	49	51	45	19	400
6	10	9	11	5	7	3	7	5	6	14	9	3	3	5	4	0	4	5	6	400
9	3	16	10	10	11	9	9	8	11	6	6	6	4	6	7	5	7	7	10	400
8	10	3	13	3	7	2	9	4	0	3	9	4	6	3	7	1	1	3	5	400
4	4	0	9	6	4	7	6	8	7	7	11	13	14	20	8	54	53	54	18	400
10	4	3	8	4	10	8	4	4	10	11	4	3	6	8	7	1	6	0	3	400
18	14	15	14	20	13	19	18	18	21	26	24	9	11	15	9	1	1	7	6	400
13	17	18	11	13	13	18	17	18	15	17	15	23	21	9	7	12	8	2	8	400
14	24	22	13	19	21	20	17	16	10	14	11	11	10	6	18	4	8	0	8	400
13	13	16	16	11	10	13	8	10	11	11	15	7	6	3	10	1	1	0	13	400
10	13	6	4	13	14	6	12	15	15	11	8	24	24	35	28	21	14	31	29	400

* N=Non-Migrant (N=166) R=Returned Migrant (N=75) G=Ghetto (N=75)
S=Suburb (N=166)

** 400 Percent represents the total for all four groups (100% for each group.)